DEAN COLET

ON THE

SACRAMENTS OF THE CHURCH

A

A TREATISE ON THE SACRAMENTS OF THE CHURCH.

“ Quanquam non soleo apud me epistolas meas servare, nec possum, quia, ut primo scribuntur, a me dantur, nullo earum exemplo retento; tamen, si quæ sunt quæ aliquid in se doctrinæ habent, eas omnino perdi nolim.”

JOANNES COLETUS ABBATI WINCHINCUMBENSI.

IOANNIS COLET OPUS DE SACRAMENTIS ECCLESIÆ.

A TREATISE ON THE SACRAMENTS OF THE CHURCH,

BY JOHN COLET, D. D.

FORMERLY DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S.

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED, WITH AN INTRODUCTION,

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PREFACE.

SHORTLY before I sought permission to publish the following Treatise, a permission which was most obligingly granted by the Court of the Worshipful Company of Mercers, I had found my task considerably lightened. It had been my intention to enter at some length into the circumstances of Dean Colet's life, so far as they served to throw light on the state of religion and learning at that period. For this purpose I had been gradually making collections for a considerable space of time. But, in March last, it was my fortune to discover that all, and much more than all, which I had contemplated, was already most efficiently performed. I allude to a work recently published, by Frederick Seebohm, Esq., entitled *The Oxford Reformers of* 1498. Some of the proof-sheets of this were shown to me by the courtesy of the author; and I could not but rejoice to find that the sketch I had been meditating was rendered unnecessary by such a finished portrait.

I mention this to account for, and in some measure excuse, what may appear disconnected in the following *Introduction*. My original plan being altered, I

endeavoured to confine myself to such topics as bore directly upon Dean Colet's Treatise; whilst yet being unwilling to exclude some few particulars which might interest those concerned in St. Paul's School.

On one point I was several times in doubt; namely, whether or not it would be better to accompany the Latin Treatise with a translation. But, whilst doing so would have increased the size of the book, I judged that those into whose hands alone it was likely to come would readily dispense with such an addition.

The peculiarities of spelling, usual at the period, such as *justicie* for *justitiæ*, and the like, I have not thought it worth while to reproduce. Some obvious slips of the transcriber I have silently corrected; more important ones are noted at the foot of the page. The blanks in words and sentences which occur here and there in the manuscript, evidently those left by one who could not decipher the writing before him, I have filled up on conjecture; marking all such insertions by [ ]. The quotations from Scripture I have throughout verified, and placed the references in the margin. Besides the more obvious extracts from Dionysius, I have added one or two passages from the Fathers, which are cited, or seem alluded to; and now and then a brief note in illustration of the text. The *Introduction* and *Synopsis* will, I trust, render anything more than this unnecessary.

St. Paul's School,

May, 1867.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Treatise which is here presented to the reader occupies the last sixty pages of a manuscript volume, in quarto, which has been in the library of St. Paul's School since the year 1759. The inscription on the fly-leaf shows that it was the gift of Robert Emmott; but its previous history I have not been able to trace. From a passage in Pepys's *Diary*[1] it would appear that there were some of Colet's treatises in the possession of the High Master of that time, Mr. Samuel Crumleholme; but in a little work, written shortly afterwards, the titles of these are given,[2] and prove them not to have been included in

[1] Under Feb. 7th, 1660. "Went to Paul's School; where he that made the speech for the Seventh Form, in praise of the Founder, did shew a book which Mr. Crumlum had lately got, which he believed to be of the Founder's own writing."

[2] "His Commentary on the Epistle to the Romanes, and an Epistle of his to a Cardinal, both writ with his own hand, are in the Library of St. Paul's School in London."—*A Sermon of Conforming and Reforming, &c.*, edited by Tho. Smith (1661), p. 75. In the Great Fire of 1666, as Strype tells us (*Stow*, i. 168), Cromleholme "lost an

the contents of the present volume. The previous part of the volume consists of two treatises, one on the *Celestial Hierarchy*, and the other on the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* of Dionysius, the so-called Areopagite. These two are digests, or summaries, of the corresponding works of Dionysius, made, as the opening sentences[1] of the first inform us, for the use of a friend. All three are in the same neat and beautiful hand. That this is not Dean Colet's own is clear from several considerations. The manuscript has all the appearance of a fair copy; here and there are blanks in the middle of a sentence, which betoken an amanuensis, unable to decipher a word or phrase; and, what is most conclusive of all, a portion of it is evidently a transcript of a copy corrected by the author. This appears from a comparison of the manuscript[2] in the Cambridge University Library, which contains several compositions of Dean Colet's, and among them one on the *Celestial Hierarchy*. In the margin of this are marked numerous corrections and additions, in a less formal hand, very probably the author's; and those corrections are embodied in

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incomparable library; for he was very curious in books." Such as were rescued from the fire probably got scattered about; and possibly the two Treatises described by Smith are the very ones now in the University Library at Cambridge.

[1] "Cognosco tuam sublimem et angelicam mentem, vir optime et amice charissime, dignam sane quæ non solum de angelis audiat, sed præterea quæ cum ipsis una consocietur. Quapropter, quæ heri et nudiustertius apud Dionysium Areopagitam in eo suo libro qui inscribitur *De Cœlesti Hierarchia* (in quo magnifice et divinitus de angelis disserit) legi et memoria reportavi, ea volo tecum communicare."

[2] Which, by the courteous permission of the authorities, I was allowed to inspect. It is marked Gg. iv. 26.

the school manuscript.[1] I am inclined to think that the handwriting of the latter is that of Peter Meghen, a native of Brabant, and Colet's amanuensis.[2] It resembles, most nearly of all which I have seen, that of a little volume in the British Museum,[3] which purports to contain the original Statutes of St. Paul's School, and the history of which is so curious as to deserve a passing notice. It is entitled:—*Statuta Paulinæ Scholæ.—Hunc Libellum ego Joannes Colet tradidi in manibus Magistri Lilii* xviii° *die Junii a°. X^i.* M.CCCCC.XVIII. *ut eum in scola servet et observet.* And inside the cover is written the following memorandum, signed "William Hamper, Deritend House, Birmingham, Feb. 5th, 1820." "This valuable document was given to me by Mr. Rodd, Bookseller, Great Newport Street, Long Acre, in whose shop I accidentally discovered it, lying, as waste paper, between the last leaf and cover of a fragment of an old

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[1] Thus, for example, in the sentence at the bottom of the first page, "in qua unitate lucis omnino et idemtitate est varietas rerum; in variis rebus eadem lux," the latter part is altered to "luxque eadem manet una et simplex in variis rebus;" and so it appears in the School copy.

[2] A noble manuscript of his, executed at Dean Colet's charge, is also in the University Library, marked Dd. vii. 3. It is a transcript of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, in Latin, arranged in parallel columns; but being in a print hand, does not afford the means of comparison with the School manuscript. The same remark holds good, I am informed, with respect to the manuscripts done by Meghen, which are in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Knight, in the *Introduction* to his *Life of Colet* (1823), p. xvi, speaks of a "manuscript in the Chapter-house at St. Paul's, writ by Dean Colet's own hand." Through the kindness of the Rev. W. S. Simpson, M.A., Librarian of St. Paul's, I am enabled to state that no such manuscript is to be found there.

[3] "Additional and Egerton, S. 6274." It is a thin quarto of twelve leaves, neatly repaired and bound.

law manuscript on vellum, which, with others of a like description, was on the point of being sent to a neighbouring gold-beater's, to be used for the purposes of his trade.—July 7th, 1818."[1] The subscription at the end of this document—*Joannes Colett, fundator nove scole manu mea propria*—seems to indicate that it is in Colet's own handwriting; and there is undoubtedly a resemblance between it and that of the school manuscript: but I think the reasons given above, on the other side, to be much more weighty.

To pass from the question of the handwriting to that of the time when the Treatise on the Sacraments was composed, there is reason for thinking that it was not long after 1498. Besides the slight presumption which its being found in the same copy affords, that it was a work of the same period as the summaries of Dionysius before-mentioned, there is the more important fact, that it is deeply penetrated with the influence of that writer. Now, Erasmus, writing about the year 1530,[2] states that Grocyn, "thirty years before," had begun to lecture in St. Paul's on

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[1] A copy of it, in facsimile, is in vol. xv. of Kennett's MSS. (Lansdowne Library, No. 949), with this note:—"Ex autographo transcripsit Joannes Copping, Maii, &c. 1715." Is it possible that the original lay misplaced in some law-stationer's office, till found, more than a century later, by Mr. Hamper?

[2] The passage occurs in the *Declarationes Des. Erasmi Roterodami ad censuras Lutetiæ vulgatas sub nomine Facultatis Theologiæ Parisiensis*, printed by Froben in 1532, p. 264. The charge in question was, that Erasmus, in the *Epistola ad D. Erardum de Marca*, prefixed to his paraphrase of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, had used the following language:—"Nam Dionysius, qui in Hierarchia Secunda priscos Ecclesiæ ritus satis copiose describit, eruditis recentior quispiam fuisse videtur, quam fuerit Areopagites ille Pauli discipulus." (Froben, 1534, *tomus secundus*, p. 146). Erasmus replies by noticing men's

the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, but had not been many weeks engaged in his task before he came to the conclusion that the writings which passed for the Areopagite's could not be his. It is not likely that after Grocyn, an intimate friend of Colet's, had made, and publicly owned, this discovery, Colet would have continued to speak of Dionysius with such unqualified respect.[1] Moreover, an event occurred in the year 1498 which was likely to direct Colet's thoughts afresh to Dionysius; whose writings, in some form or other, he had before met with during his travels on the Continent. This was the publication of the Paris edition of some of the works of the Areopagite, in the form of a Latin translation by Ambrosius, the earliest edition, I believe, which had appeared. The attention thus excited is shown, to some extent, by the publication, in 1502, of the Argentine edition, containing, in a Latin dress, the works which had appeared four years before, with some additional ones. There is therefore no improbability in supposing, that it was the appearance of one of these two edi-

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proneness to such pious frauds as he held the production of the Areopagite's works to be; and, to show that other learned men were of his opinion, cites the case of Grocyn.

[1] Jewell, indeed, distinctly states that Colet held the same view as Grocyn:—"Dionysius, although he be an ancient writer, as it may many waies well appeare, yet it is judged by Erasmus, John Colet, and others many, grave and learned men, that it cannot be Areopagita, S. Paul's disciple, that is mentioned in the Acts."—*Of Private Masse* (ed. 1611), p. 8.

But Harding, in his *Rejoinder to M. Jewel's Replie* (1566), fol. 44, says:—"As for John Colet, he hath never a word to shew, for he wrote no workes. If he said it at his table, or in a sermon, as M. Jewel perhappes hath heard saye, the proufe is of small auctoritie. We admit not the trial of hearesaies."

tions, most likely of the former, which turned Colet's attention afresh to the *Hierarchies*, and prompted him to draw up the abridgments of them before referred to. Indeed, if we can depend upon the date given by Erasmus for Grocyn's Lectures on Dionysius, it is not unreasonable to conjecture that he was the friend for whose benefit Colet took this trouble. After reading Colet's abstracts, supposing him not as yet to have thoroughly studied the author for himself, Grocyn would be likely enough "stomachari in eos, qui negarent esse illum Areopagitam." And the present Treatise on the Sacraments would seem, from its style, to have had its origin in the same train of thought.

When we think of the eminently practical cast of Dean Colet's mind, it is almost surprising that the high-flown fancies and turgid style of Dionysius should have made any deep impression on him. We call to mind his strong common sense, as it is so admirably portrayed for us in Erasmus's account of their journey to the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury;[1] and we feel that in the twelve years or so

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[1] In the colloquy headed *Peregrinatio religionis ergo*, of which a new translation, with many interesting notes, by John Gough Nichols, Esq., appeared in 1849. The story has since been told by Dean Stanley, in his *Historical Memorials of Canterbury* (1865), pp. 240 sqq. Mr. Nichols has satisfactorily proved that the Gratianus Pullus of the Dialogue was no other than Colet. Fuller, in his *Abel Redivivus* (1651), p. 99, mentions the circumstance which is shown to have suggested the name of *Pullus*, and adds a reason for it of his own :—"*Black* he loved above all colours, preferring it farre before Purple; which preserved his Doctorall robes the longer."

If any one still doubts of the completeness of Mr. Nichols' proof that Gratianus Pullus was John Colet, and no imaginary *Gratian*

which elapsed between the probable date of this Treatise and the pilgrimage to Canterbury, great changes must have taken place in his mind. But it should be remembered how wide a sway those singular writings once exercised. "Dionysius is the mystical hero of mysticism. You find traces of him everywhere. Go almost where you will, through the writings of the mediæval mystics, into their depths of nihilism, up their heights of rapture or of speculation, through their overgrowth of fancy, you find his authority cited, his words employed, his opinions more or less fully transmitted."[1]

The very fact that their authority was disputed, at the first public citation of them of which we find mention, tended to direct men's thoughts to them the more. When the Severians, at the Council of Con-

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Pullen, I think that I can add another argument. *Gratianus* is clearly a Latin translation of the name *John.* In the interpretation of Hebrew names given us by St. Jerome (a favourite author with both Erasmus and Colet), among those taken from the Acts is the following:—"*Joannes,* in quo est *gratia,* vel *Domini gratia.*" Bishop Jewell seems to have had the same thought, in a passage that reminds us, in more than one respect, of Colet. Speaking of the lessons which our Christian names should teach, he says:—"As, if any be called *John,* that he pray for *grace,* and desire to be filled with grace: that he give witnesse of Christ, that he is the Lambe of God which taketh away the sins of the world: that he rebuke vice boldly, as John did in Herod, though he were a mighty prince."—*Treatise of the Sacraments* (1611), p. 268.

[1] *Hours with the Mystics,* by Robert Alfred Vaughan, B.A. (1856), vol. i. p. 128. This highly-gifted author was well able to form an opinion on the matter: but I think he is somewhat too severe on the merits of Dionysius as a writer:—"His verbose and turgid style, too, is destitute of all genuine feeling. He piles epithet on epithet, throws superlative on superlative, hyperbole on hyperbole, and it is but log upon log; he puts no fire under, neither does any come from elsewhere."—*Ib.* p. 127.

stantinople, in 533, endeavoured to support their opinions by a reference to the Areopagite, the validity of their standard was called in question, on the ground that neither Cyril nor Athanasius had indicated any knowledge of it in their own controversies against Nestorius and Arius.[1] In course of time, this Dionysius became identified with the patron saint of France,[2] and the influence of his works was thus still more widely spread. They were translated and commented on by John Scotus in the ninth century, and appealed to by Boniface VIII. in the thirteenth.[3] Should any one now attempt seriously to maintain the genuineness of these writings, as being, what they were long believed to be, the composition of the Dionysius converted by St. Paul at Athens, Casaubon's expression[4] would hardly be too strong to apply to him. But at the time when Colet read them, it was but small disparagement to

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[1] Neander's *General History of the Christian Religion* (1851), vol. v. p. 235.

[2] As such, his portrait stands first in the *Pourtraits et vies des Hommes illustres* of André Thevet (1584), who thus disposes of the question of genuineness:—"Je ne daignerois respondre à ceux qui trop severes Aristarques revoquent en doubte si cestuy Denis Areopagite, disciple de Sainct Paul, et Apostre des Gauls, est autheur des livres qui sont divulguez en son nom, les attribuant à autres qui ont vescu en autre temps."—fol. 2. a.

See also Struve's *Introductio in notitiam rei literariæ* (1754), p. 607; and Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History* (1790), vol. ii. p. 331, where is the story of his works reaching France in 824.

[3] Neander, vol. ix. pp. 11-12.

[4] Written in his copy of Dionysius:—"Auctor est sane lectu dignissimus, et qui Pontificiorum causam aperte in multis jugulat. Hunc autem fuisse Apostolorum æqualem stupor est credere; furor est velle aliis persuadere. Asinos esse oportet, qui hoc sibi sinent persuaderi." Cave's *Historia Literaria* (1688), p. 177.

his intellect that he should believe them to be the genuine work of the disciple of St. Paul.

Erasmus, in a letter[1] written in the year that Colet died, speaks of them as the production of a later author. Since then it has been the fashion to depreciate them.[2] Be their value, however, what it may,

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[1] *Epistolæ* (1642), p. 1825, G., being the letter to Cardinal de Marca, from which an extract has been given.

[2] So Neander, iii. p. 497:—"A theurgical system, or mixed symbolism of this sort, formed out of a mixture of Christianity and Platonism, we find completely elaborated in the writings *forged* under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite, which might have been composed some time in the course of the fifth century." Fabricius, in his *Prolegomena* to Marinus's Proclus (1703), p. xii, speaks of "that lunatic Dionysius"—"larvatum illum Dionysium Areopagitam"—and by Brucker he is described as "Pseudo-philosophus ille et impostor." *Miscellanea historiæ Philosophiæ* (1748), p. 142. n.

In the clouds of controversial dust which have been raised about the age and authorship of the Dionysiac writings, it is not easy to take a correct view of the value of the writings themselves. Many will be disposed to respond to the conclusion of Struve (*Introductio, &c*, p. 856) respecting the works of the Mystics generally:—"Omnes judicant, paucissimi intelligunt. Legi, pervolvi horum scripta, nec condemno, nec adprobo: non intelligo." In Usher's *Dissertatio*, subjoined to his *Historia Dogmatica* (1690), pp. 281-289, the reader will find a full discussion of the arguments against the Apostolic date claimed for Dionysius. Usher concludes by assigning him to the fifth century. Pearson, in his *Vindiciæ Epistolarum S. Ignatii* (1852), vol. i. pp. 249-264, places him still earlier, and makes him contemporary with Eusebius. Peter Halloix, in his *Quæstiones de Vitâ et operibus S. Dionysii*, appended to the Venice edition of 1756, argues very acutely against some of the reasons commonly brought forwards for the lateness of the authorship; especially that grounded on the alleged quotation from Ignatius. The opinion of Grocyn he makes very light of:—"Quàm putida ratio! et quàm arundineo innixa baculo auctoritas. Albusne an ater fuerit iste *Crocinus* qui ista *crocitavit*, quis novit?" In one of the *Dissertations* appended to the *Disquisitio Chronologica* of Baraterius (1740), pp. 285 sqq., a sensible view, as I think, is taken. And though the reader may not join in his conclusion that the author of the *Hierarchies* was really Dionysius, Bishop

their influence on Colet's mind, at one period of his life at least, was such, that it seems proper to give a short account of the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, as being the treatise which Colet epitomized most fully, and which has given a strong tinge to his own work on the Sacraments.

Of the seven chapters into which the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* is divided, the first treats of the resemblance between the Celestial Hierarchy and the Ecclesiastical. The object of each is to raise the beings, of and for whom it consists, through successive stages, from a lower order to a higher, and so, in the end, to God. For this purpose, the orders of heavenly beings receive an illumination directly, as their spiritual natures allow them to do, from the Source of all Light; but for mankind, there is need of sensible images, or sacraments.

The second treats of Baptism, the formal commencement of the spiritual life; of the ceremonies attending it—the stripping off the old garments, the anointing with oil, the arraying in a white robe, and the participation in the Holy Communion.

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of Alexandria, he will see good reason for not regarding the work as that of an impostor.

It may be added that Pilkington, in his *Confutation of an Addition* (Parker Society, 1842), p. 586, contrasts the simplicity of rites, as described in Dionysius, with the Popish additions of later times. And Stillingfleet, no mean authority, whilst denying any right to the title of Areopagite, appears to have had no thought of the writings being "forged." "If you had asked," he writes in his controversy with Cressy, "whether he had been an ancient and learned author, living sometime within the first four hundred years, you should not have met with any opposition from me."—*Rational Account* (1665), p. 648.

The third is on the Eucharist, called Synaxis, and Communion, as uniting us to God; with a description of the manner of solemnising it.

The fourth contains an account of the consecration of the Holy Oil, and the mystical significance of its use in Baptism, at the altar, and the like.

The fifth describes the priestly Orders, and their office; the Christian Hierarchy being something midway between the Mosaic and the Heavenly. As the channels through which the Christian Church receives illumination are more corporeal than spiritual natures require, so are they less carnal and material than those suited to the infant condition of the Legal Church.

The sixth assigns the Orders which are the proper subjects of the threefold work of purifying, illumining, and perfecting. The Monastic state is the highest example of the last, or perfect condition. Then follow the forms of Monastic consecration.

The seventh and last treats of the burial of the dead, whether ecclesiastics or lay people; the meaning of anointing after death; and the nature and limitations of prayers for the dead.

We may thus see that the pervading idea in this Treatise of Dionysius is that of a gradual ascent to God, through various stages of spiritual life, brought about through the agency of corresponding orders in a divinely appointed ministry. To quote again the words of Vaughan,[1] "The chain of being in the upper and invisible world, through which the Divine power diffuses itself in successive gradations, he calls the Celestial Hierarchy. The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy

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[1] *Ut supra*, p. 123.

is a corresponding series in the visible world. The orders of angelic natures and of priestly functionaries correspond to each other. The highest rank of the former receive illumination immediately from God. The lowest of the heavenly imparts divine light to the highest of the earthly hierarchy. Each order strives perpetually to approximate to that immediately above itself, from which it receives the transmitted influence, so that all, as Dante describes it, 'draw and are drawn, and tend in common towards the centre, God.'"

The idea is, in itself, a sublime one, when divested of unnecessary mysticism ; and the reader will not fail to perceive how largely it enters into the following treatise of Dean Colet's.

With respect to the number of the Sacraments, we do not find in Dionysius any formal enumeration of them, much less the exact seven which were afterwards recognized by the Western Church. And this the early date assigned to him would naturally lead us to expect. Of the seven chapters composing the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, setting apart the first as introductory, we find that the remaining six treat, in brief, of Baptism, the Lord's Supper, the Consecration of the Holy Oil, Priestly Orders, Monastic Dedication, and the Ceremonies of the Holy Dead. And these are the very six rites to which, as we are informed,[1] the term *mysterium* became gradually restricted in the Eastern Church. But, in fact, till long after the time of Dionysius, both the *sacramentum* of the

[1] Hardwick, *History of the Christian Church: Middle Age*, (1853), p. 321, *n.*

Western and the *mysterium* of the Eastern Church, were terms employed with great latitude of meaning. It was not till the twelfth century that "the ordinances which could claim to be admitted to the rank of *sacraments* were found to coincide exactly with the sacred number seven. The earliest trace of this scholastic limitation has been pointed out in a discourse of Otho, the Apostle of the Pomeranians (1124); and from the age of Peter Lombard, Bonaventura, and Aquinas, members of the Western Church were taught to pay a large, if not an equal, share of reverence unto all the Sacraments of the new law:—Baptism, Confirmation, the Eucharist, Penitence, Extreme Unction, Orders, and Matrimony."[1] In the *Necessary Doctrine*, put forth in 1543,[2] the list of seven Sacraments is retained. The First Book of Homilies (1547) speaks of the "Sacrament of Matrimony." Cranmer's Catechism gives three Sacraments as instituted by Christ, namely, Baptism, Absolution, and the Lord's Supper. In the Second Book of Homilies (1563) there is a clear decision given on the matter:—"In general acceptation, the name of a Sacrament may be attributed to any thing, whereby an holy thing is signified. In which understanding of the word the ancient writers have given this name, not only to the other five, commonly of late years taken and used for supplying the number of the seven Sacraments, but also to divers and sundry other ceremonies, as to oil, washing of feet,

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[1] Hardwick, *Ib.*

[2] Quoted in Browne's *Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles* (1858), p. 580; whence also I have taken the references to Cranmer and the Homilies.

and such like: not meaning thereby to repute them as Sacraments in the same signification that the two forenamed Sacraments are. *Dionysius*, *Bernard*, *de Cœnâ Domini*, *et Ablut. pedum*." And Bishop Jewell,[1] writing some two years later, allows a like freedom in the use of the word:—"Now for the number of Sacraments, how many there be, it may seeme somewhat hard to say, and that it cannot be spoken without offence. For men's judgements heerein have swarved very much: some have said there are two; others three; others foure; and others, that there are seven Sacraments. This difference of opinions standeth rather in termes, than in the matter. For a Sacrament, in the maner of speaking which the Church useth, and in the writings of the Holy Scripture, and of ancient fathers, sometimes signifieth properly every such Sacrament which Christ hath ordained in the New Testament, for which he hath chosen some certaine element, and spoken special words to make it a Sacrament, and hath annexed thereto the promise of grace: sometimes it is used in a general kind of taking; and so every mistery set downe to teach the people, and many things that indeed and by special property be no Sacraments, may neverthelesse passe under the generall name of a Sacrament."

With such divergence between the conclusions of the Eastern and Western Churches as to the Sacraments, and such a latitude in the use of the term itself, as the above passages show, we shall not be surprised to find little that is dogmatic in Colet's

[1] *Treatise of the Sacraments* (1611), p. 263.

treatise. He adopts, indeed, the prevalent enumeration of seven Sacraments, but he arranges them in an order of his own. In the *Distinctions* of Peter Lombard,[1] they are treated of in the following order:—Baptism, Confirmation, Eucharist, Penitence, Extreme Unction, Orders, Matrimony. And this arrangement was finally confirmed by the Council of Trent.[2] But Colet, under the influence of the spiritualizing mysticism of Dionysius, places Orders and Matrimony together first, as distinctive of the "Vir," the masculine or sacerdotal element in the Church; the remaining five, of which Penitence occupies the first place, being assigned to the "Uxor," the feminine or lay element. So far from being at all in the manner of Peter Lombard, his treatise may almost be described as a commentary on the text, "Sacramentum hoc magnum est; ego autem dico in Christo

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[1] This famous writer died July 20th, 1164. Cave specifies six editions of his *Sentences* between 1474 and 1499 inclusive. His work appears to have been welcomed as a convenient handbook, and the commentators upon it were very numerous. Erasmus, in his note on St. Matt. i. 19 (quoted by Fabricius), says:—"Haud aspernandus Theologus Petrus Longobardus, *rhapsodus* ejus operis quod vocant *Sententiarum,* quem arbitror quidem et probum fuisse virum, et, ut illa ferebat ætas, eruditum. Atque utinam illius labor tam feliciter cessisset Orbi Christiano quam ab illo susceptum est pio studio. Siquidem apparet illum hoc egisse, ut semel collectis quæ ad rem pertinebant, quæstiones omnes excluderet. Sed ea res in diversum exiit. Videmus enim ex eo opere nunquam finiendarum quæstionum non examina sed maria prorupisse."

[2] *Sessio septima* (die tertio Martii, 1547): *Canon* i.:—"Si quis dixerit, Sacramenta novæ legis non fuisse omnia a Jesu Christo Domino nostro instituta, aut esse plura, vel pauciora, quam septem; videlicet: Baptismum, Confirmationem, Eucharistiam, Pœnitentiam, Extremam Unctionem, Ordinem, et Matrimonium; aut etiam aliquod horum septem non esse vere et proprie Sacramentum, anathema sit."

et in Ecclesia." Whilst the five last mentioned Sacraments are handled very briefly, the two preceding —Orders and Matrimony—are treated of at great length. On Matrimony especially; that spiritual union, namely, "betwixt Christ and his Church,"[1] of which he does not scruple to call the union of man and wife a "vain and empty shadow," he expatiates at length. This, in fact, he makes to include all: "to the fruitful union of mankind, as wife, with God, as husband, all the Sacraments in the Church tend." And he does not hesitate to explain the silence of Dionysius about marriage, on the ground, either of his perceiving it to be identical with priesthood, or of his meaning us to gather that, in the Church of Christ there *ought not to be* any other marriage than the mystical one involved in the priesthood.

If any additional argument were required to prove that this treatise was written at a comparatively early period of Colet's life, it would be furnished by his maintaining such doctrines as these. They appear to betoken a study of books, rather than of the world. When, in 1511, he preached his Convocation Sermon,[2] he spoke boldly of the evil of "carnal con-

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[1] The words of the introduction in our service—"signifying unto us the mystical union that is betwixt Christ and His Church"—would have well satisfied Dean Colet; but, so far as this treatise expressed his real thoughts, he would not have called matrimony an "holy estate," and "honourable among all men."

[2] Given at length in vol. ii. of *The Phœnix; or, a Revival of scarce and valuable Pieces* (1708).—In his *Preface*, p. iv, the editor of the *Phœnix* speaks of it as "perhaps one of the oldest, as well as one of the honestest, extant in the English tongue." "This piece," he adds, "we might safely trust alone into the world without Passport or Recommendation; whether we consider it purely as a sermon, with

cupiscence." But he did not propose, as the remedy for it, the stricter enforcing of celibacy among priests. And when he was called upon to put the soundness of his own views to a very practical test, in the choice of governors and masters for his newly-founded school, he showed no preference for the unmarried state, but rather the reverse. "In charge of the revenues," Erasmus tells us,[1] "and of the whole concern, he set, not priests, not a bishop, not a chapter, not dignitaries; but married citizens,[2] of established

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respect to the language and ornaments of speech, tho preached in the reign of Henry VII, or with respect to the matter and doctrine, tho in the days of Popery." Bishop Burnet "once intended to have published it, as a piece that might serve to open the scene, and to shew the state of things at the first beginnings of the Reformation." (*Ib.* p. v.) It was republished by Tho. Smith in 1661; and again in 1701; the suggestive cause of this latter republication being stated to be a recent quotation from it by Dr. Atterbury.

From his greatness as a preacher, Erasmus in one passage fancifully derives the name of Colet:—"Since *Coheleth* is the Hebrew word for *Preacher*, which in Greek is *Ecclesiastes*."—*Letter to Thomas Lupset* (*Epp.*, 1642, iv. 4).—Smith, who mentions this remark about *Coheleth*, adds:—"If I might guess again, I should say, that he was so called because of those rare endowments that were in him. For the *Colet* is that part of the ring wherein the pretious stone or signet is set . . . . It pleased Alm. God to break his mother's wedding-ring, in taking away all her 22 children, except only one; but he preserved the *colet* of it, in preserving our Dr. alive as long as she lived."—*A Sermon, &c*, p. 59.

Guesses apart, I suppose it will be allowed that the name Colet is only a diminutive of Nicholas. The popularity of that saint made his namesakes multiply fast. "The southern nations almost always contract their names by the omission of the first syllable, as the northern ones do by leaving out the latter ones; and thus, while the English have Nick, the Italians speak of Cola, &c." See *History of Christian Surnames* (1863), vol. i. p. 214.

[1] Letter to Justus Jonas (*Epp.* 1642, p. 705).

[2] "Cives aliquot *conjugatos*," *ib.* I am aware that this has been explained by some to mean "formed into a Company," as the Mercers

reputation." And for the master of the school, there was to be chosen "a wedded man,[1] a single man, or a priest that hath no benefice with cure;" a direction which shows at least no preference of unmarried men for this office. We may conclude, therefore, that the exaltation of celibacy, which we find in this treatise, betokens an early and transition state of Colet's mind, and one which was afterwards greatly modified by what he saw of the evils of enforced celibacy among the clergy.[2] Of those evils we have a sufficient account from contemporary writers.[3]

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are. So Holland appears to have understood it (*Heroologia Anglica*, 1620, vol. ii. p. 155): "Docuit *ipse conjugatus*, se nusquam reperisse minus corruptos mores quàm inter conjugatos." And yet the passage in Erasmus's letter, a little further on, which Holland is evidently quoting, shows beyond doubt what meaning the word was there intended to have. For the writer adds, as the reason for good principles being found among the "conjugati," that natural affection, the care of *children*, and domestic concerns, were so many barriers to keep them from falling into vice.

Among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum is a thin folio (marked 6037), containing Short Lives of various Divines. In his account of Colet, the writer says that "he always preferred the honest and honourable estate of matrimony before the unchast single life of priests;" and again, of the "Head Master and Usher," "hee willed that they should be chosen out of the number of married men, than of priests with their suspected chastity."—But the account seems only to be a somewhat careless abstract of Erasmus or Holland.

[1] The copy of the Statutes in Knight's *Colet*, p. 303, has "yf such may be gotten a wedded man." The autograph copy before referred to, as well as the two in Kennett's Collections, show that the words "yf such may be gotten," refer to the master's being learned "also in Greke," which precedes.

[2] "Erasmus often referred to this wisdom and honesty of Dr. Colet in preferring a married man for the master of his school—and again, married men for the trustees and guardians of it; because the cœlibacie of the clergy was at that time run into infinite crimes and scandals."—*Kennett Collections*, vol. xcvi. fol. 82, a; where a passage is given, in testimony, from Erasmus's *Dialogus de Recta Latini Græcique ser-*

It will be interesting, for the completion of our knowledge of what Dean Colet wrote upon the Sacraments, to compare the summary of religion which he drew up for the use of the "lytel babys and lytel children" of his school. It is prefixed to the Latin *Accidence*[1] which he composed for the same purpose.

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monis pronuntiatione. I quote from Maire's edition of it (1643), p. 27. "Proinde Joannes Coletus, vir æterna dignus memoria, quum templo Divi Pauli scholam puerilem addidisset, nulla cura magis torquebatur, quam in quos ejus rei præfecturam delegaret. Episcopi judicant hanc rem indignam sua solicitudine. Scholasteres censibus recipiendis se potius quam scholæ curandæ datos arbitrantur; et pulchre sibi videntur suo functi officio, si ludimagistros non deciment. In collegiis canonicorum fere deterior pars superat. Magistratus vel judicio carent, vel indulgent privatis affectibus. LEO. Quid tandem consili reperit? URSUS. Hominem conjugatum, et liberis divitem, scholæ præfecit. Provisionem delegavit aliquot e civibus laicis, quorum probitatem habere sibi videbatur exploratam; ut ab his in hæredes proximos derivarentur. LEO. Num ea providentia securum reddidit? URSUS. Minime. Sed hic aiebat sibi videri minimum esse periculi, ut tum habebant res humanæ."

Earlier in the same Dialogue (*ib.* p. 13) there is a striking picture drawn of the amount of care shown in the choice of schoolmasters; which places Colet's attention to this matter in yet stronger relief:—"Ad hujus aut illius commendationem quemvis ludo præficimus, fere indoctum, interdum et moribus improbis; non huc spectantes, ut rei charissimæ, civium liberis, omnibus consulamus, sed ut unius famelici ventriculo prospiciamus; accuratius circumspicientes cui committamus unum equum aut canem venatorem, quam cui credamus totius civitatis pignora."—See also Ridderus *De Eruditione* (1680), pp. 36-40.

[3] Thus Melanchthon, writing in 1529 to Henry VIII, says:—"Nemo non videt qualis sit vita cœlibum: bonorum querelæ notæ sunt, malorum turpitudo manifesta est."—*Epp.* 1642, p. 28.

But the strongest testimony is that of Polydore Vergil, himself an ecclesiastic, and acquainted with Colet:—"Illud tamen dixerim, tantum abfuisse, ut ista coacta castitas illam conjugalem vicerit, ut etiam nullius delicti crimen majus ordini dedecus, plus mali religioni, plus doloris omnibus bonis impresserit, inusserit, attulerit, quam sacerdotum libidinis labes."—*De Rerum Inventoribus* (1644), p. 347.

[1] The exact title of this work, an early edition of which is, I believe,

The *Articles of the Faith*, or Creed, are as follows:—

i. "I beleve in God the father almighty creatour of heven and of erth.
ii. And in his sone Jesu Christ ower lorde.
iii. Which was conceived by the holy gost, and born of the clene Virgen Marie.
iiii. Which suffred under Poncio Pilato, and was

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very rare, is *Joannis Coleti Theologi, olim Decani Divi Pauli, æditio, una cum quibusdam G. Lilii Grammatices rudimentis.* There is a copy in the King's Library of the British Museum (marked C. 12. e. 5), printed at Antwerp, by Martin Cæsar, in August 1535. It contains eighty-seven pages, of which 13 and 14 are missing. In the Grenville Library there is also a copy (marked 7475), printed in June 1536, which is perfect.

I have not been able to discover any earlier edition, but I imagine there is no doubt as to this portion of the work being from Colet's own pen. In Strype's Stow (1720), vol. i. pp. 163 sqq. we are told that "Colet also framed a short Catechism in English for the youth of his school, which he obliged all to learn, and was used in the time of Popery to be bound up at the beginning of the *Accidence*." After a description of the parts of this Catechism, which corresponds with what is found in the editions above-mentioned, Strype concludes:—"If the superstitious parts of this Catechism had been laid aside, and the rest, which is very pious, had been retained for the use of the school, it would, in my opinion, have been very well done, and the Founder's Will more complied with."

And in Pepys's *Diary* (1848), vol. ii. p. 439, there is the following entry under March 9, 1665:—"At Paul's School, where I visited Mr. Crumlum at his house . . . and he did, upon my declaring my value of it, give me one of Lillie's Grammers, of a very old impression, as it was in the *Catholique times*, which I shall set much by." From a previous entry, under Feb. 4, 1663, we have a further description of what was, no doubt, the same book:—"Mr. Crumlum . . . . also showed us upon my desire an old edition of the Grammer of Colett's, where his Epistle to the children is very pretty; and in rehearsing the Creed it is said, 'borne of the cleane Virgin Mary.'"

crucified and dyed, and was buried, and descended to hel.

v. Which rose again the third daye frome deth to life.

vi. Which ascended into heven and sittethe at the right hande of the father almighty.

vii. Which shal come againe and judge both quicke and deed.

viii. I beleve in the holy gost the holy spirite of God.

ix. I beleve in the holy chirche of Christ, which is the clene congregacion of faithful people in grace and communion of saintes onely in Christ Jesu.

x. I beleve that in the Chirche of Christe is remission of synnes both by baptime and by penaunce.

xi. I beleve aftir this life resurreccion of oure deed bodyes.

xii. I beleve at the last everlastinge life of body and soule. Amen."

Next follow *The Seven Sacramentes* :—

"I beleve also that by the seven Sacraments of the Chirch cometh grete grace to al that take them accordingly.

i. By gracious ordre is given power to minister in God.

ii. By gracious matrimony we ar born in to this worlde to God.

iii. By gracious baptym we ar born agein the sones of God.

iiii. By gracious counfirmation we are stablysshed in the grace of God.

v. By gracyous Eucharistye where is ye very presence of the persone of Christ under forme of breed, we be nouresshed spiritually in God.

vi. By gracious penaunce we rise againe from synne to grace in God.

vii. By gracious Enoelinge and the laste anointinge we are in oure deth commended to God."

After the *Oratio Dominica*, and *Salutatio Angelica*, there follows next a prayer to the Virgin Mary:

"Sancta Maria, virgo et mater Jesu, age cum filio tuo, ut hæc schola quotidie proficiat in ipso, utque omnes pueri in eadem discant ipsum et erudiantur in ipso, tandem ut perfecti filii Dei fiant per ipsum. Et tu quoque, Jesu benignissime, age cum patre tuo et patre nostro, ut gratia sui spiritus, nos suos filiolos faciat, sic te Jesu discere et imitari in hoc seculo, ut una tecum fœliciter regnemus in futuro."

Immediately after which comes the *Oratiuncula ad patrem* [sic: leg. *puerum*] *Jesum Scholæ præsidem*, which is given in Knight, p. 383.[1]

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[1] I have been the more precise in giving the Prayer to the Virgin Mary at full, because there is no intimation of it in Knight, nor yet any Table of the Sacraments, as above. And yet, at p. 131 he says, speaking of some Prayers of Erasmus, "though made long before the foundation of Paul's School, they were never recommended to the boys; nor indeed anything else of foppery or Popish superstition; so that, considering the original constitution of it, it might be called the first Protestant School before the Reformation." So, indeed, it justly might; but the reasons for saying so should be sound. St. Paul's School, like any other public institution, took the complexion of the

It will be observed that, in the above Table of the Sacraments, Colet retains the same order as in his Treatise. Nor should the wording of the Fifth escape notice. It is much nearer to the language of our own Church than it is to that of the Council of Trent.[1]

In the *Carmina Scholaria*,[2] which Erasmus composed

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times. Thus in 1527, only eight years after Colet's death, we find the boys, under their master, Rightwise, acting a masque before the King at Greenwich, in which one character was "The heretic Luther, like a party-friar, in russet damask and black taffety." In Hall's *Chronicle* (ed. 1809), from which chiefly Froude (*Hist. Eng.* i. pp. 70-73) gives his interesting account of this entertainment, the scholars who acted are not stated to be from St. Paul's School. And in many of the accounts of these old plays, the "children of Paul's" must be understood of those in the Cathedral School. But in the present instance, a passage from the original document, given in Collier's *History of English Dramatic Poetry* (1831), vol. i. p. 110, shows clearly who are meant:—"*It.* payd by me Rychard Gybson, for byer [beer] and aell and bred for xxxviii chylldern, the Master, the Ussher, and the Masstres, that et and dranke, 3*s.* 2*d.* *It.* Mast. Ryghtwos, Master of Powlls School, axethe to be alowed for dobelets, hossys [hosen] and schoos for the chylldern that were poore mens sons; and for fyer in tyem of lernyng of the play, as by hys byll apperythe, 45*s.* 6*d.*; so for kosts by the sayd Mast. Ryghtwos doon, sma. 45*s.* 6*d.*"

[1] Compare the *Shorte Catechisme . . . sett fourth by the Kings Majesties authoritie, for all scholemaisters to teach* (1553: reprinted in the *Enchiridion Theologicum*, 1825, vol. i. p. 30):—"And even as by breade and wyne our natural bodies are susteined and nourished; so by the body, that is, the flesh and bloude of Christ, the soule is fed through fayth, and quickened to the heavenlye and godly lyfe."

Nor is the language of our present *Catechism* less similar.

On the other hand, compare the decision of the Council of Trent (*Sessio decima tertia, canon* iv.):—"Hæc Synodus declarat, per consecrationem panis et vini, conversionem fieri totius substantiæ panis in substantiam corporis Christi;" and the *Catechismus, Pars* ii. § 40.

[2] Of which, by the kindness of F. Seebohm, Esq., I have seen editions of 1512,-14,-16, and -20. As they are correctly reprinted in Knight, p. 125, I do not quote from them.

for use in the new school, there is a remarkable absence of anything like invocation of saints, or of the Virgin Mary. There was one hymn, indeed, which we are told was sung by the children on entering and leaving school,[1] which it is to be feared is lost. At least there is nothing among the extant *Carmina Scholaria* of Erasmus which quite answers to the description. The present High Master of St. Paul's School, Dr. Kynaston, whose graceful pen has done so much to supply the want of which he complains, says in the *Preface* to his *Cantica Coletina*:—"Erasmus was our first contributor; and happy indeed should we be, if we possessed the hymn which he tells us was daily sung before the picture of the Child Jesus at the entering and departing of the children."

At the end of a little parchment-covered book,[2] of which the title-page runs *Continentur in hoc libello plenæ pietatis aliquot Erasmi lucubraciunculæ: Concio de puero Jesu: Oratio ad Deum: Pæan ad divam Virginem: Oratio ad deiparam Mariam,* there are some short pieces in Latin verse, by Cornelius Grapheus,[3] of Alst. One of these pieces, entitled *In*

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[1] "And all the young fry when they come in and go out of school (beside their appointed prayers) salute Christ with an hymn; which you may read amongst Erasmus's Epigrams." Smith's translation of the *Letter to Justus Jonas,* &c. (1661), p. 66, and n. So in Fuller's *Abel Redivivus* (1651), p. 100. "Whom the children as they entered the schoole were wont to salute with a sacred Hymne, composed, if I be rightly informed, by Erasmus."

I know not on what authority this hymn was ascribed to Erasmus.

[2] Brit. Mus. 4375. a. It bears date *Lovanii,* 1514.

[3] See an account of him in Appendix ii. of vol. i. of Ullman's *Reformers before the Reformation* (tr. by Menzies, 1855). He was

nativum Hiesum Ode, contains stanzas which *might* possibly have been so sung.

The whole is too long to be quoted here; but I give the first and last, with one of the intermediate stanzas:—

"Salve, parve puellule,
Salve, maxime cœlitum,
Et rerum pater omnium;
Salve, dulcis hiesu.

Vagis, parve puellule:
Ne vagi, pue; parvuli
Te multi puerum pueri
Optant visere dulcem.

Atque hæc nostra tenerrimo
Affectu data votula
Illi, indigna Deo licet,
Offer, Diva, precamur."

Occurring, as it does, in the same book with the *Concio de puero Jesu*, which was composed for delivery in St. Paul's School, it is barely possible that this ode, or some portion of it, was the hymn referred to by Erasmus; but that is the most that can be said.

There is a little work, commonly assigned to Colet, which has been often reprinted, under the title of *Daily Devotions, or the Christian's Morning and Evening Sacrifice . . . by John Colet, D.D.*[1] Of this, the first

born in 1482, the year before Luther, and in 1520 published Goch's work on Christian Liberty, for which, the year after, he was imprisoned. He was a friend of Erasmus, but not a thorough-going Reformer.

[1] "There are extant two speeches of his made to the Convocation; some Essays upon Grammar, *Prayers for daily use*, and an *Exhortation to a Holy Life*."—Collier's *Ecclesiastical History* (1852), vol. iv. p. 30. But the account is very inaccurate: thus Colet's father is called Sir *John* Colet; Polydore Vergil is *Vigil*, &c. In a communication to *Notes and Queries*, Aug. 1, 1863, p. 94, mention is made of

piece alone, headed in the later editions *An useful Direction in order to a Good Christian Life*, but in the original *A right fruitfull Admonition concerning the order of a good Christian Man's Life*, is Colet's composition. The reader will see a great contrast between the plain, practical tone of the following extract[1] from it, and that which he caught from Dionysius:—"If thou be religious, remember that the due execution of true religion is not in wearing of the habite, but with a cleane mynde in very deed to execute the rules and ordinances of religion. For so it is, that to weare the habite and not to execute the rule and order of religion, is rather to be deemed hypocrisie, or apostasie, than otherwise. If thou be lay and unmaried, keepe thee cleane unto the time thou be maried. And remember the sore and terrible punishmente of Noe's flood, and of the terrible fyre and brimstone and sore punishment of Sodome and Gomor, done to man for misusing of the fleshe. . . . And if thou intende to mary, or be maried, and hast a

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Anthony à Wood reckoning the *Daily Devotions* among Colet's works; but the writer adds, "its authenticity appears questionable." I think I can trace the history of the book. In 1577 there was printed for Gabriel Cawood a little volume (Brit. Mus. C. 21, a.) consisting of three treatises: (1) *A righte fruitfull admonition, concerning the order of a good Christian man's life . . . . made by the famous Doctour Colete;* (2) *A Godly Treatise, declaring the benefites . . . . of Prayer. Written in Latin fourtie yeers past by an Englishman of great vertue and learning;* (3) *A brefe Treatise exhorting sinners to Repentance.* The *first* of these treatises was kept prefixed to a volume which grew and altered, somewhat after the manner of a modern hymnbook, and gradually caused the name of *Colet's Daily Devotions* to be given to the whole. I have seen the 19th, 20th, and 22nd editions (1684-1722), and in the first of these three, Colet's treatise is still left *unpaged.*

[1] I quote from the edition of 1577, leaf 5, a.

good wife, thanke our Lord therefore, for she is of his sending. And remember that three thinges in especiall bene pleasaunt to the spirite of God; that is to say, concord betwene brethren, love and charitie betwene neighbours, and a man and his wyfe wel agreeing. And if thou have an evyl wife, take pacience, and thanke God; for all is for the best, well taken. Howbeit thou art bounde to doo and pray for her amendement, least she go to the Devyl, from whom she came. And have in remembraunce, that the intent of mariage is not in the beastly appetite or pleasure in the thing; but the intent thereof is to eschewe the sinne of the fleshe, or els to have children. And if thou have children, as much as thou mayest, bring them up in vertue, to be the servauntes of God: for it is better for thee and them not to be borne, than to be otherwise."

Having said thus much, I will do no more than present the reader with a brief *Synopsis* of Colet's Treatise, and leave him to form his judgment from the Treatise itself. He will now be prepared, I think, to regard it only as "representing a phase of thought through which Colet passed;" not as the work of his maturest years. Dean Colet never ceased indeed to believe in the reality of that spiritual marriage and union betwixt Christ and His Church, which is so fully discoursed of in the following pages; but he came to look on earthly marriage as no more "common or unclean;" but as a state in which the "sacrifice of righteousness" might still be offered to God. That *prolem justitiæ*, of which he speaks again and again, Colet in his time largely

helped to bring forth. But we must look for it less in the written works which he has left behind, than in the effects which he wrought upon the men of the age in which he lived. When we think of the versatile and prolific, but less stable, genius of Erasmus, it is hardly wrong to say, that to the *femineus homo* there, he was the *Vir Deus*. And what he was for men like Erasmus and More, he has been, in measure, for thousands of others, whose tale is not yet numbered. His association with them has been in truth a *fecundissima conjunctio*. His writings fill no volume with their titles only, as do those of Erasmus; his presence does not pervade the history of that period, like the presence of Wolsey: but, when we learn to trace events to their source, and actions to their motives; to look beyond the decrees of king and pope, beyond the printing-presses of Basle and Paris and London and Louvain, we may begin to feel his true greatness. And the estimate of Southey[1] will then seem to us scarcely an exaggerated one, when he pronounced him to be "the best and wisest of his age."

[1] *Common-Place Book. Second Series* (1849), p. 332.

SYNOPSIS.

I.

FROM God all things have their being, form, and perfection. He is the true Priest, and the source of all priesthood in heaven and earth. He himself is perfect Purity, Light, and Goodness; and the priestly office is an unceasing imitation of Him in these three qualities.

The Angels first fulfil this office; and being consecrated as priests to God in a threefold order, through purification, illumination, perfection, they offer to Him the sacrifice of righteousness. In the world their office consists in the restoration of a true and right order in things. Hence the name of Orders given to the priesthood Page 35

II.

The first Sacrament instituted was that of Orders, or Priesthood. By this sacrament were the heavenly intelligences bound to fight, in the strength of God, for the restoring of unity, beauty, and perfection, where the enemy had brought in multiplicity, deformity, and defect.

The Mosaic Priesthood, with its multitude of sacrifices and oblations, was a shadow of the heavenly hierarchy.

In this world, which is the temple of God, the three ternaries of Angels spread the threefold rays of God, the divine Sun, in purification, illumination, and perfection . . . Page 38

III.

In the heavenly natures there are, moreover, all the other Sacra-

ments, but after a spiritual manner. These are Marriage, Penitence, Baptism, Confirmation, Eucharist, Extreme Unction.

There is the Sacrament of Marriage, because the heavenly spirits are as a wife to God, their husband. To Him they cling, and from Him they become fruitful for the propagation of righteousness.

Whilst towards God they are as the wife, towards mankind they are as the husband, making them in turn prolific with the offspring of righteousness.

Hence Marriage and Priesthood are one and the same; righteousness at once the offspring and the sacrifice. Of this spiritual marriage the earthly rite is but a poor and empty shadow. A fuller discussion of this being reserved till afterwards, a rapid survey may be taken of the manner in which the other Sacraments are solemnized in the world, which is the temple of God . . . Page 42

IV.

The Sacrament of Penitence might more properly be called that of Reconciliation. It is carried on by the spiritual, or sacerdotal part of created beings, whose office is to restore order in disorder.

This they do by acting on the lower, the corrupt and sensual part, and renewing in it the image of God.

For this work of purifying, illumining, confirming, and finally perfecting that which is fallen, signs and sacraments are needed.

For man, whose nature is twofold, spiritual and corporeal, these sacraments are of a like twofold nature. There is in them the visible sign and the invisible thing signified . . Page 43

V.

In the ministry, which the heavenly hierarchy performs, we may conceive that there are offices like those in the Church on earth, but of far higher order. These are *Ostiarii*, or door-keepers; *Lectores*, or readers; Exorcists; Acolytes and Sub-Deacons. They are exercised in the work of purification, as the two higher grades are in the works of illumination and perfection.

The functions of the inferior orders above-mentioned are described.

These, as well as the two superior orders, all work after a pattern from God. In the Mosaic Church there was the shadow; in the Christian Church there is the image, or visible sign; in heaven there is the reality. The sketch must precede the finished picture. So with respect to the Sacraments. Among the Angels there is the reality of that which they symbolize to us. We have but the figure Page 46

VI.

On the origin of that evil which made sacraments necessary. The Angels, who fell from their first estate, have not ceased to devise mischief against mankind. Hence the Temptation in Eden, the Fall, and man's subsequent misery.

But as Adam fell, not without being tempted, he had an excuse which the Devil had not. Hence a way of restoration was opened to him. As man was created to be the Spouse of Christ, he had now to be re-created. The words of St. Paul are repeated, touching "the depth of the riches of the wisdom and knowledge of God," in thus bringing good out of evil.

In this re-creation the goodness of God is shown even more strikingly than in the first creation of man. There was no cause why man should not be created at the beginning, but afterwards there was cause why he should not be created anew.

The effect of this mercy is shown in an increase of humility on the part of man, whose nature, divested of its old clothing, and arrayed in wedding garments, is then fitted to be united in marriage to God.

This union being so great and wonderful, the sacrament of it was ordained to precede the Fall. Eve, taken from the side of Adam, was a sign of the Church taken from the side of Christ. The command, "increase and multiply," foretokened the multiplying of a spiritual offspring.

Thus Adam's prophecy is fulfilled, and Christ and His Church are joined together in one Spirit. This is the "great mystery," of which St. Paul writes to the Ephesians, and the depth of which he does not attempt to fathom.

Adam was "the figure of Him that was to come:" one the progenitor of the flesh, unto death; the other of the spirit, unto life. In Christ there ought not to be any propagation of the flesh; the only offspring to be sought for being that of righteousness.

Man, as carnal, cannot be united with God, who is spiritual. There must therefore be a mortifying of the flesh, and a quickening again in the spirit. This truth is largely enforced by passages from St. Paul's Epistles.

The fruits of this union betwixt Christ and His Church are described by St. Paul to the Galatians; and are, in brief, the works of righteousness.

To the human nature in Christ the Church is as a sister; to the divine nature in Him as a wife; to God the Father as a married daughter.

God the Father is the King who would make a marriage for His Son. That Son is the first Husband, the source of all true marriage

in heaven and earth. In this heavenly union mankind would have been joined to Him from the first, but for the transgression in Eden.

God, who foresaw the spiritual adultery that mankind would commit, foreordained also the restoration from it; and earthly marriage was instituted as a sign from the beginning of the spiritual union that should be.

At length, in the fulness of time, Christ came down from heaven as the Bridegroom; leaving Him who was at once His father and His mother, to cleave unto His wife the Church.

Before such a bride could be prepared, " not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing," much time and labour must be spent. For this end a better and purer part of mankind were all along kept reserved by the providence of God, till what had been growing ripened at length in the fruit of the " stem of Jesse," Jesus; made " male and female;" male, in His divinity, female in His humanity; through which humanity He was to draw to Himself the rest of mankind that were needed to complete the Church, His Bride.

This being the only true marriage, Dionysius is therefore, perhaps, silent on marriage in his *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, because its Sacrament preceded the institution of the Church.

For the completion of His bride, the Church, by gathering in all of mankind that remains to be united to it, Christ, our High Priest, ordains His children to labour as priests under Him. By the remaining Sacraments of Penitence, Baptism, Confirmation, Eucharist, and Extreme Unction, as by visible cords, the rest are thus drawn to Him.

In this work they imitate Christ, and are in turn themselves as husbands to the rest of the world; the fruit of their intercourse being righteousness.

David meant this when he wrote, " Offer the sacrifices of righteousness;" and the same is shown to be the meaning of St. Paul in various passages. The offspring and the sacrifice are one. In offering this sacrifice, there is an active and there is a passive element in the Church; but both together make up that "spiritual house" and "holy priesthood" of which St. Peter speaks . . Page 50

VII.

The propagation of the flesh, through earthly marriage, though allowed by St. Paul to the Corinthians, of necessity rather than of free will, is in itself not a thing of Christ. Neither is any such marriage, nor the issue of it, required in Christianity; though to the weak it may be needful to permit it. Provided that the reality of the Sacrament have been obtained, the sacramental character disappears from it. Heathendom would have supplied material enough for the work of regeneration; even though in this respect the Church had been barren. Nor need

there have been any fear that all the world would grow Christian, when, even under the name of Christianity, the greater part were heathens. Hence St. Paul would have all men to be even as he himself was; although, for the avoidance of greater evils, he gave permission to marry. Yet it is to be wished that all the Christian world were in celibacy, as was the desire of St. Paul himself.

Orders and marriage are thus proper to the higher, or masculine, part of the Church; in which part are various ranks of ministers, as before said. Their office is to act upon the weaker and feminine part, that it may bring forth the fruits of righteousness . . Page 73

VIII.

As the righteousness which is thus brought forth is from God, and is the reflection of the light of truth and goodness which streams down from Him; so, that man may be able to show this image reflected in himself, he must be purified and changed from that "multiplicity" which is akin to sin and death, to "simplicity" which is truth and life.

In restoring this "inner man," and "single eye," is the work of the priesthood. It is only in the light of God that men can "see light." While distracted by the manifold affairs of the world, men in reality *are not.* They must therefore be drawn back from such a dissolution, and reunited to God, "by the bringing in of a better hope."

The old clothing must be stripped off, that the renewed man may be fit for heavenly raiment; the vessel cleansed, that it may be refilled.

Thus, the first work of the priesthood is purification, and the bringing in of a better hope. Men in this state are *Catechumens,* on whom the others act as *Readers, Exorcists,* and the like.

The Penitence which this purification brings about must be sincere and real. There must be compensation for wrongs done, as well as confession of them. Until a man is thus purified, he is not in the mystical body of Christ. As this is rather a preparation for Sacraments than a Sacrament itself, therefore Dionysius does not expressly treat of it.

Our penitence may often have to be repeated; such is the fluctuating character of the warfare we wage. But, though he who falls and rises again is not to be compared with him who has never fallen, yet God will have compassion on us at every fresh effort to recover ourselves. At such times there is joy in heaven.

It is not the office of Sacraments to scatter darkness and cleanse away defilement, but to introduce light. Those results then of necessity follow. Hence Baptism is specially called by Dionysius the Sacrament of Illumination. In it there is the presence of the Spirit of Light.

By the approach of that light, the little cloud of original sin is dispelled from infants: adults must of themselves confess and abjure their sins. This they can only do by the help of God. Through the intervention of the Sacrament, the will of God for their release from their sins is communicated to them. No sins are remitted which the penitent himself does not remit by his own confession; none are retained which the sinner himself does not retain. There is no remission of sins but from God; the priest who absolves only declares and confirms the will to repent, on the part of the sinner, and the will to pardon, on the side of God.

This Sacrament, which the later Church called Penitence, might fitly be called Reconciliation and Remission . . . . Page 78

IX.

Baptism illumines those who are purified, and is the seal of faith bestowed by God. Confirmation witnesses the sure gift of the Holy Spirit. It took its rise from the sending of Peter and John to Samaria, and might be called the Sacrament of the gifts of the Holy Ghost.

The Sacrament of Communion in the food of Christ's flesh and blood shared in common, is the feeding and nourishing of those who have been confirmed.

Lastly, Extreme Unction, which used to be performed after death also, but now at the last extremity, so far as that can be discerned, is the Sacrament of labour done and warfare ended. It has its warrant in the words of St. James.

There are many Anointings in the Church, which are the divers exhortations of the Holy Ghost. His coming, and the effects wrought by Him, are what Sacraments signify to the faithful, to their eternal salvation . . . . Page 92

DE SACRAMENTIS ECCLESIÆ.

I.

A DEO Patre per Filium cum Spiritu sancto sunt, formantur, et perficiuntur omnia. A sanctissimâ Trinitate omnis consecratio est; videlicet a Deo per Filium cum Spiritu sancto. Deus verus sacerdos est, a quo omne sacerdotium in cœlo et in terrâ nominatur. In Deo verè sunt omnia; extra Deum imitatio est Dei. In Deo, qui æternus est, æterna sunt omnia. Illic paternitas et filiatio et amor et sacerdotium æternum est. Sacerdotium illic est quidem, ut ita dicam, sacerdotificans; omne enim sacerdotium a Deo est, sacerdotum sacerdote: sacerdotale munus es[t quæ]dam Dei assidua imitatio in puritate, luce, et bonitate. Deus ipse est puritas, lux, et bonitas. Post Deum hæc relucent in angelis, quos Deus, summus sacerdos, purificando, illuminando, et perficiendo,[1] sibi consecravit. Consecravit autem et

[1] *Perficiendo.*] Purification, illumination, and perfection, are the three objects of the Sacraments, and give exercise to the threefold order of the ministry. Thus in the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, c. vi.

dedicavit sibi, ut angeli in se triunum Deum in hac trinitate referant. Quatenus hæc tria eminentissimè in Deo sunt; Deus est ipse qui colitur et cui sacrificatur. Quatenus sanctificator ille hæc propagans creat, illuminat, perficit, sacerdos est mirificè et sacrificans sibi et aliis sacerdotes consecrans. Effectus illius benignissimi divini sacerdotii primus in angelis est; qui in tanto consecratore et summo pontifice evaserunt feliciter sacerdotes consecrati Deo ab ipso Deo, ut Deum deinceps consecratione imitentur: imitentur, inquam, consecrando, sacrificandoque triplici illâ ratione purgandi, illuminandi et perficiendi, quâ ipsi Deo sunt consecrati. Propagatio enim oportet sit Dei, et illius benignitatis derivatio.[1] In hoc officio qui sunt, in sancto Dei sacerdotio sunt. Quod sacerdotali munere sanctificatur Deo, sacerdotis sacrificium est Deo acceptissimum. Velit Deus ut sacerdotes sacrificent sibi in sanctificatione, sicut ille

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pars iii. Dionysius writes, "Conclusimus igitur, sancta quidem mysteria purgationem esse et illuminationem atque perfectionem: ministros vero, purgantem ordinem; sacerdotes autem, illuminantem; consummantem autem sive consecrantem, divinos esse pontifices."

I have thought it best, in the quotations from Dionysius, to give the Latin version of Ambrosius (1498); which alone, probably, Colet had read. The first Greek edition was the Juntine, in 1515.

[1] *Derivatio.*] The first chapter of the *Celestial Hierarchy* commences with the words of St. James, i. 17, "Every good gift, and every perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of lights." Hence we are to learn that we best imitate God by becoming in turn the bestowers of good. Colet aptly expresses this thought in the introduction to the abstract of the *Celestial Hierarchy* which he has made for a friend:—"In his quæ didicimus in eo libro id vel primum et maximum est, ut, quicquid aliunde accepimus boni, id benigniter deinceps impartiamus aliis et communicemus; hoc imitati inestimabilem Dei bonitatem, qui largitur se et ordine communicat universis." *School MS.* fol. 1, a.

sanctificans sacerdotes ipsos sibi [sacrificat.] Propagatio Deitatis maximum et proprium est Deo sacrificium. Opus enim est ardentissimæ charitatis, et ob id quidem opus justissimum. Justitiâ Deus placatur mirificè. Hinc illud Davidicum, "Sacrificate sacrificium justitiæ." Ps. iv. 6. Inter se mutuo et sine intermissione angeli sacerdotale munus exercent, sacrificantque justitiam. Item fit extra se, ut quàm latissimè in Deo justi appareant. Moliuntur omni conatu in Ordine ipso ordinante constantem et justum ordinem in rebus. Hic effectus sacerdotalis muneris est. Unde sacerdotium Ordo a recentiori ecclesiâ cognominatum est. Ordinata in ordinatores; ordinatores in Ordinem[1] ipsum referuntur. Ordo ipse ratio est Dei illa omniformis, ab intimâ Dei mente deprompta, tota et adæquata Divinitatis summâ, ipsa pulchritudo, quod ipsum est verbum Dei ex alto ore prolatum, Deum totum intimo exitu plenissimè, expressissimè significans; quo, pulcherrimo ordine, dictata sunt omnia. In quo ab ordinatis in propagationem ordinis laboratur. Primùm et maximè in stabilem et justum ordinem rerum sacerdotali officio expurgans, illustrans et perficiens, Ordo ipse agit et operatur; et in eo deinceps qui sunt ordines, ordine quisque suo. Primus ergo sacerdos est Ordo ipse, et primus ordo Sacerdos ipse. Hic est sacratissimus Dei æternus Filius, cui Pater in ore David hæc verba habuit: "Tu es sacerdos in æternum, secundum or- Ps. cix. 4.

[1] *Ordinem.*] Thus, in the *De Divinis Nominibus*, c. iv. *pars* i. God is called *taxis*, or Order. In the same passage Dionysius speaks of the "supersubstantiale illud pulchrum," in God, which draws, and as it were *calls* men to itself:—"unde etiam pulchritudo greco vocabulo *calos*, a vocando, dicitur."

dinem Melchisedech," cujus ordinis neque principium neque finis agnoscitur. Itaque æternus sacerdos est Dei, ipse Deus sacerdotificans: idem æternus Dei ordo; ipse Deus ordinans omnia, a quo omnis sacerdotalis ordo est, et omne ordinatum sacerdotium. Ille ordo et sacerdos primum ordinavit sacerdotium in cœlis sanctissimorum spirituum; in quibus est illuminatio, purgatio et perfectio,[1] et inter se maximè ipsorum, et omnium. Sacerdos etiam ille primus et exemplaris, in quo sunt omnia, qui ipse est omnia verissimè, is ipsum est etiam sacramentum sacrificans omnia, omniaque sacramenta faciens, quæ omnia ipsum referant, sacramentorum sacramentum.

II.

PRIMUM autem conditum sacramentum, per quod deinde omnia alia sacramenta condantur, erat quod ordinem vocant et sacerdotium. In principio a Sacerdote ipso et Ordine. Consecravit enim et aperte astrinxit sacramento felicissimos illos spiritus, ut in ipso ordinum auctore sanctè et ordinatè commilitent. Militia enim in Deo omne sacerdotium est; ut, in viribus Dei, Dei creaturam a rationibus Deo con-

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[1] *Perfectio.*] The Celestial Orders themselves being spoken of as fulfilling these offices for one another, not merely for mankind. Thus, *Eccl. Hier.* c. vi. p. iii: "Ita sunt et qui illuminantur ordines, et qui consummantur; purgantes item et illuminantes ac perficientes in hierarchia cœlesti. Quando supremæ illæ diviniores que substantiæ inferiores sacras cœlestesque distinctiones ignorantia omni emundant in ordinibus ac proportionibus cœlestium functionum, ipsasque sacratiorum doctrinarum fulgore implent atque perficiunt."

trariis vindicent; utque agant ut Deus ubique et in omnibus luculente appareat. Quoniam authores malitiæ nequitiæque indesinenter agunt, ut sibi ex bono malum exaugeant; ut, quemadmodum depravaverint se, ita alia quæcumque, quoad possunt, in merementum[1] mali depravent; cœleste sacerdotium consecratur Deo, et sacramentali nexu obligatur, ut in uno pulchro et bono Deo unitatem,[2] pulchritudinem et perfectionem rerum conquirant et conservent, a rationibus videlicet contrariis, multiplicitate, deformitate et defectu, quæ assiduè moliuntur in mundo qui suâ ipsorum improbitate apostatarunt, ex Lucifero illo factus tenebrifer, Diabolus, et satellites ejus. Sacratissimi illi, quos dedicavit sibi Deus ipse, statim post defectionem illorum qui in suum malum corruerunt, in hâc rerum universitate, quod Dei est templum, exstant magnifici sacerdotes summi Dei, et industriosi exercitus magni Dei Sabaoth; tales facti a Deo, ut pro datis viribus sine intermissione in mundo, suâpte naturâ labente, conquirant Deo justitiam, justitiamque consacrificent. Quorum assiduitatem in hâc parte, Moysaicum sacerdotium, quod scatet hostiis et immolationibus, plenissimè adum-

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[1] *In mer. mali.*] "To become subjects, or material, of evil." *Merementum* is a word that has come from *materia*, through the lengthened form *materiamentum*. The form *merrementum* is found in Statutes of the year 1246.—*Glossarium Manuale* (1776).

[2] Both Dionysius and Colet lay much stress on the divineness of *unitas*. Compare the *De Divinis Nominibus*, c. xiii: "Denique si *unum* tollas, neque totum erit, neque pars aliqua, neque aliud quicquam in rebus. Omnia enim in seipso unum uniformiter præaccipit atque complectitur . . . . Et expedit ut nos quoque a multis ad unum, virtute divinæ unitatis, conversi, unice laudemus totam atque unam deitatem, unum, omnium causam."

brat.[1] Illi ergo imitantes exemplar et causam omnis sacerdotii, ordinem etiam et justitiam ipsam, in propagatione justitiæ Dei elab[orant], hoc maximè sacrificantes Deo, et vero suo fungentes officio sacerdotali, quod est quidem, in sole Deo, triplici Dei radio purgatorio, illuminatorio et perfectorio, et quàm latè fieri potest et quàm longè, copiosum justitiæ fructum parere et procurare. Quoniam sacerdotium est certe imitatio Dei in amplificatione justitiæ. In eo munere ordines illi angelorum, numero novem (sicuti describit Dionysius),[2] longè excellunt et antiquitate et veritate. Qui consecrati et consummati ordines in creaturâ

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[1] *Adumbrat.*] *Eccl. Hier.* c. v. p. i: "Cum parvuli essemus . . . . legale indulsit sacerdotium, obscuris verarum rerum imaginibus et figuris, a primitivis suis remotissimis, signisque haud facile penetrabilibus ac typis opertam habentibus neque discerni facilem intelligentiam; congruam, et viribus nostris convenientem lucem; ut imbecillioribus oculis innocue infulgens."

[2] *Cœlestis Hierarchia,* c. vi: "Omnes simul cœlestes immortalesque substantias in novem ordines divinus sermo distinxit, propriisque ac significantibus vocabulis appellavit. Has eximius præceptor noster in ternas tertio repetitas distinctiones ad Sanctæ Trinitatis divisit imaginem. Ac primam quidem esse ait quæ coram Deo versetur semper, idque ex divinâ dignatione susceperit, ut illi inhæreat jugiter, nullisque mediis interjectis spiritibus, inseratur. Nam sanctissimos *Thronos;* et oculis plurimis alisque præditos ordines, *Cherubin,* scilicet, et *Seraphin,* Hebræorum voce appellatos, juxta Deum, nullis mediis insertis agminibus, eminenti propinquitate locatos ait; idque sanctarum Scripturarum tradere expositionem . . . . . . Secundam vero asseruit, quæ *Potestatibus, Dominationibus, Virtutibus*que conficitur. Tertiam item, quæ in cœlestibus functionibus extremum teneat locum, ex *Angelis* et *Archangelis Principatibus*que constantem."

These three ternaries are illustrated in Ambrosius's Version by a diagram, such as Colet has several times adopted in the following pages.

The Reader will hardly need to be reminded of *Paradise Lost* (v. 600):—

> "Hear all ye Angels, progeny of light,
> Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers."

mundi, Dei templo, perfecti sacerdotes sunt, sanctissimè se in sacrificiis laudis exercentes. In quo mundo constituit Deus angelos sacerdotes, ut sibi merementum Dei sacrificent in omnibus; id est, simplicem et veram bonitatem. Dei filius [est] summus et æternus pontifex, condens et templum mundi, et angelicos ac spiritales sacerdotes, item sacramenta et sacrificia constituens omnia ipse in omnibus sacrificantibus, sacrificans Deo Patri suo, ut universus mundus nihil sit nisi templum, sacerdotium et sacrificia Deo, in eo qui ipse est templum templi, et sacerdotii et sacrificii veritas;—Deo Patri suo, a quo æterniter accepit omnia, et ut sit templum, sacerdos et sacrificium. Primus itaque et summus pontifex est Deus ipse, cujus sacra est ædes templum creaturæ, in quo sacerdotes sunt angeli, in quo sacrificium est simplex veraque justitià; quam ut sacrificent, quin immo ut inter sacrificandum ministri sint (pontifex est enim ipse qui omnia in omnibus consacrificat), in perpetuum sacerdotium Deo consecrantur. Quo fit ut in sacramentis prior et antiquior sit Ordo, et Sacerdotium, in templo mundi a Deo conditum. Pontificia majestas, sacerdotium consecrans, æterna est.

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Deus</td><td>Pater, a quo omnia, et ad quem omnia; et templum et sacerdotium et sacrificium.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Filius, æternus et coæqualis Patri; Primus pontifex et ordo ipse.</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><td>Angeli, sacerdotes pontificis.
Mundus universus, templum Dei.
Sacrificium in mundo, simplex veraque justitia.</td><td>In propagandâ justitiâ in mundo verum sacerdotale munus est officiumque.</td></tr>
</table>

III.

SUNT præterea in spiritalibus naturis reliqua sacramenta omnia, sed modo spiritali et angelico; Matrimonium, Pœnitentia, Baptismus, Confirmatio, Eucharistia, Extrema Unctio. Nam, tanquam uxor Dei, adhærent Deo divini illi spiritus, et fecundantur ab ipso, et, fecundati divino semine, divinam similitudinem propagant. Item uxores in Deo viri sunt, aliosque tanquam feminas sibi asciscunt, et quodam sancto coitu impregnant. Sic a primo viro et marito maritaceo procedit quæ est inferioris partis attractio sursum[1] a superiore, et amplexu astrictio, ut fecundetur in eo, et pro capacitate plena sit divinâ bonitate et justitiâ, quæ tota est derivata a Deo, quæ viros facit, ut hi feminas faciant viragines; atque ut sic vicissitudinario matrimonio justificetur mundus in justo Deo. Finis ejus veri matrimonii est fecunditas justitiæ; aut ex adhæsione,[2] quæ ipsa est justitia, aut illis quæ ab ipso justificantur. Verus vir et maritus est primus ille pontifex, in quo est omnis maritatio in fecunditatem omnium, ut sterilia quæque in se, subjecta vel Deo vel subjectis Deo, alicujus justitiæ fructûs fiant feracia atque tenera, spiritali mente ex-

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[1] So Dionysius describes the Order which is in the second, or middle, stage of *illuminatio*, as "communione sacrâ omni cum voluptate acquiescentem, et ad divinum ipsorum scientiæ amorem, subnixum eorum *subvehentibus virtutibus*, pro modo suo evolantem."—*Cœlest. Hier.* c. vi.

The Greek word is still more literally rendered in the Latin version appended to the Venice Edition of 1755:—"Per *anagogicas* virtutes."

[2] Some pronoun, perhaps *ei*, seems to have been missed here. So *et* seems wanting before *spiritali mente ex.*, just below.

aminentur. Idem est sacerdotium quod matrimonium, et sa[crificatio idem] est quod prolificatio. Quum enim in mundo prolem justitiæ fecisti, sacrificasti Deo. Hujus matr[imonii] levis et inanis umbra est id quod est maris et feminæ in propagationem carnis; de cujus institutione, et quid velit, dicemus postea prolixius. Nunc autem cursim et leviter, in hoc magno mundi templo sub pontifice Deo quomodo celebrantur reliqua sacramenta, volumus annotare; ut a primis fontibus derivata oratio influat in id melius quod intendimus. Habemus enim in proposito loqui expressius de sacramentis ecclesiæ nostræ, quibus quasi jurati Deo nostro in Jesu Christo militamus.

IV.

Pœnitentia vero, quæ longe rectiùs reconciliationis sacramentum vocaretur, et reditûs a deteriori ad id quod melius est, quæ semper est cum pœnitentia delicti et confessione peccati et voluntate recompensandi,[1] ut confessio etiam et satisfactio possit vocari æquè ac pœnitentia; illud, inquam, reconciliationis sacramentum, quod posteriori ecclesiæ placuit pœnitentiam appellare, in alienatis et lapsis assidue a sacerdotali mundi parte agitur, qui spiritus sunt, qui ordines illi[2] relevant, et quodque ad suum statum re-

[1] "In perfectione autem pœnitentiæ tria observanda sunt, scilicet, compunctio cordis, confessio oris, satisfactio operis . . . . Hæc est fructifera pœnitentia; ut, sicut tribus modis deum offendimus, scilicet, corde, ore, et opere, ita tribus modis satisfaciamus."—Petri Lombardi *Sententiæ* (1575), *lib.* iv. *Distinct.* xvi.

[2] *Ordines illi.*] So in MS. The sense appears obscure; unless *illi* may signify "to Him," i. e. "God."

stituunt, ut in ordinatis a Deo, qui ipse est Ordo, suum ordinem teneant. Ex infirmitate rerum transgressiones et casus sunt frequentes in mundi parte inferiore et corporali. Quòd si a superiori et spiritali parte revocata non sustinerentur, defluxus rerum suâpte impotentiâ in malum et deforme evaderet in nihilum. In hoc ergo magni mundi templo, pars illa purgata, illuminata, confirmata, perfecta, pars videlicet illa a Deo sibi consecrata et sacerdotalis, pars spiritalis et angelica, sacerdotale munus exercet quasi sacramentali ratione, atque corpoream partem infirmam et impuram purgat et stabilit, quoad fieri possit, in esse spiritali, ut pro captu illuminetur et perficiatur in Deo; ut a divisione ad unum, a deformitate ad pulchritudinem, a defectu ad perfectionem contracta, omnia Deum in se referant; ut Deus, qui debet, extet omnia in omnibus. In hoc munus et officium sacerdotis est; in hoc sacrificatio grata Deo est. Quoniam in hoc est coactio et cooperatio in Deo, qui unum in se, pulchrum, et bonum mundum velit esse; et res omnes a malitiâ, tenebris et morte vindicare; ut tandem absorptâ morte vivant in Deo omnia, luculenta ordine et perfecta. In quo labore, per angelos, qui student consecrare mundum Deo, est expurgatio et reconciliatio rerum, et baptismalis illuminatio, et confirmatio in lumine, et denique sua cujusque, quatenus potest capere,[1] bonitate impletio et perfectio. Nihil enim aliud vult omne sacerdotale

[1] "Quemadmodum enim ipse sol, diversis rebus subditis apparens, alterum altero plus calefacit; idque non ob solis, sed eorum quæ solem excipiunt, diversitatem; sic utique divinum donum cum sit perfectum, pro suscipientium capacitate, vel remittitur vel intenditur."—Pachymeræ *Paraphrasis in Cœlest. Hier.* c. i.

munus, nisi diversorum purgationem in unitatem, et tenebricosorum illuminationem in claritatem, et postremo deficientium impletionem in perfectionem; quæ in spiritalibus naturis fiunt simpliciter et apertè, sine consignatione sacramenti sensibilis. In naturis partim spiritalibus partim corporeis, cujusmodi sunt homines, eadem fiunt, sed adhibitis etiam symbolis et consignaculis sensibilibus; ut corpus in eis habeat etiam quod agat puritatem, lumen et bonitatem ipsius. In naturis vero quæ non sunt perditæ, spiritibus æternis in ipsis, pura, pulchra et bona conditio eorum[1] sine ulteriore significatione est earum temporalis felicitas. Etenim tria sunt genera rerum, sub ipsâ rerum omnium causâ Deo; spiritalia penitus sine corporibus temporalibus, et corporea prorsus sine æternis spiritibus, et inter hæc media ex temporalibus corporibus et æternis spiritibus constantia. In illis primis sacramentum est quodque res ipsa sacramenti; in secundis res ipsa sacramentum;[2] in mediis his, qui sunt homines, et res est ipsa aliquatenus, et sacramentum quoddam, medium scilicet ex spiritali et corporeo compositum, mediæ naturæ admodum congruum. Hæc sunt sacramenta humanæ

[1] *Eorum.*] Attracted to the gender of *spiritibus.*

[2] "Hic dicendum est, aliquos suscipere sacramentum et rem sacramenti; aliquos sacramentum et non rem; aliquos rem et non sacramentum."—Petri Lombardi *Sententiæ*, iv. 4. Though his threefold division comprises only three classes of human beings, the passage will in some measure illustrate what Colet says. As an example of those who receive both the sign and the thing signified (*sacramentum et rem*), he instances infants at their baptism; of those who receive the sign but not the reality, unbelievers at the eucharist; of those who receive the reality but not the sign, martyrs for Christianity, whose shedding of blood would be a baptism, though they had never been baptized before.

societatis in Christo, ad quæ aliquando nostra perveniat oratio.

Æternum, invisible. | Temporale, sensibile.

- Supra hominem.—Res sacramenti.—Invisibiles veritates.—Æternitas.
- Homines ex
  - Spiritali.
  - Corporeo.
  - Res sacramentata.—Invisibile et æternum [factum quodammodo sensibile et temporale.
- Sub hominem.—Sacramentum rei.—Sensibilia signacula.—Tempus.

V.

Ex superiore itaque sermone constat, sub pontifice templi (id est, totius mundi), Dei Filio, esse naturas spiritales, purgatas in esse simplex et stabile in Deo, et illustratas omnifariâ sapientiâ et impletas omni bonitate; quæ purgant, illuminant et perficiunt purganda, illuminanda et perficienda in Deo. In quâ purgatione, quæ reconciliatio est, multiplex est ministerium. Unde in eo versati a Dionysio Ministri[1] vocantur. In quibus potes cogitare in magno mundo, sed longè meliori notâ quàm in nobis nostrâque ecclesiâ, Hostiarios, Lectores, Exorcistas, Acolitos, Hypodiaconos.[2] Diaconos mihi videtur Dionysius

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[1] *Ministri.*] The *leitourgoi* of Dionysius; who uses *hiereus* and *hierarches* for the two higher orders of *Sacerdos* and *Pontifex.*—*Eccl. Hier.* c. vi. *Theoria,* § 5.

[2] Colet names them in an ascending order of dignity, from *Ostiarii,* or door-keepers, up to *Hypodiaconi,* or sub-deacons. With respect to the authority for these orders, Bingham writes:—"The two great oracles of the Romish Church, *Baronius* and the *Council of Trent,* are very dogmatical and positive in their assertions both about their rise and number; that they are precisely five, *viz.* Sub-deacons, Acolythists, Exorcists, Readers, and Door-keepers; and that they are all of

vocare sacerdotes: et quos nos vocamus sacerdotes et presbiteros, ille pontifices et præsules appellat; quorum est dominicum corpus conficere, et illuminatos complere mysteriis; sacerdotum dyaconorumque, illuminare purgatos; ministrorum primùm expurgare; in quibus, ut dixi, hostiarii sunt, qui stant pro foribus templi Dei, excludentes multiplices,[1] simplices sinentes intrare; itèm lectores Psalmorum et scripturæ sacræ: hi in spiritalibus sunt, qui tacitè indicant sine verbo veritatem Dei: exorcistæ, qui energuminos obsessosque a malignis spiritibus solvunt et liberant, quod faciunt angelici spiritus adjurationibus nobis incognitis: acoliti, qui ignem et aquam templo amministrant, quod est factum in mundi templo a cœlestibus acolitis longe alio et veriori modò: hypodiaconi in sacrario et Dei sanctuario sollicitè inserviunt, quod in sanctuario et choro templi mundi fit ineffabiliter. Aquâ autem et igne lavantur purganturque omnia. Cœlestis ignis et aqua est amor, et gratia Spiritûs sancti. Supra hos purgatorios ordines, in mundi sacerdotio, potest cogitare, qui se habent illic ut apud nos nostri sacerdotes (ut vocat Dionysius; ut nos appellamus, Diaconi), quorum est purgatos illustrare, ut saltem imagines divinæ veritatis videant, eisdemque

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Apostolical institution." . . . . But he goes on to show that even Peter Lombard declared that "the primitive Church had no orders below those of Presbyters and Deacons."—*Antiquities* (1710), vol. ii. p. 2.

[1] *Multiplices.*] See the note below, p. 80, on Psalm iv. 10; and compare *Eccl. Hier.* c. iii. § 2. "Post hæc, extra delubrum catechumeni fiunt, et cum ipsis energumeni, et ii quoque qui in pœnitentia sunt. Manent autem intus soli qui divina spectare merentur atque percipere."

injiciantur. Hi in cœlesti hierarchiâ sunt potentes et dominantes virtutes, quæ in mediâ illic hierarchiâ locantur; a quibus est in mundo illuminatio, sicut ab infimâ purgatio. Supra hos cogita summum pontificalem ordinem, sub pontificum pontifice Deo; a quibus sub Deo cuique est perfectionis ministratio. Illi sunt in mundo perfectione complentes omnia, sicut nostri apud nos debent esse pontifices. Nihil est his excellentius præter ipsum Deum. In his consummatus est numerus ecclesiasticorum ordinum; qui sunt exemplariter in mundi sacerdotio in illis choris angelicis, imaginariè in humanâ hierarchiâ. Apud Moysen eadem erant omnia umbrositer, præter hæc quæ sunt et nominantur episcopi, archiepiscopi, primates, officia, et administrationes. Atque hi quos modo diximus ordines famulatus sunt potius quàm ordines. Sed de his apud nos jam statim plura diffusius dicemus. Hoc ante omnia teneamus in memoriâ, ad exemplar Dei omnia esse; quæ referunt angeli veriùs, ecclesia nostra imaginariè, ecclesia legalis umbrosè: omnia pr[ius] esse in cœlo quàm in terrâ: in terrâ quæ fiunt, ab imperfecto ad perfectum proficisci. Non potuit enim imago Dei depingi in terrâ in hominibus, nisi prius *adumbraretur.*[1] In mediâ mundi tabulâ et hominum quasi carbone infuscavit

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[1] *Adumbraretur.*] "Deus, qui dixit de tenebris lucem splendescere, ipse illuxit in cordibus nostris, ad illuminationem scientiæ claritatis in facie Jesu Christi; ut veriorem illius vultum fide cernamus: qui revelavit quæ de se et ecclesia depinxit Moyses. . . . . . . In Christo enim sunt omnia cumulate, quæ vel docere in justitia, vel in religione instituere Moyses ille voluit. Quæ fuere prius adumbranda, tum deinde suo tempore illustranda; ut aliquando in fine seculi perficiantur omnia." —Colet *in Cœl. Hier.* (School MS, fol. 4, b).

atrum quiddam Moyses; depinxit clariùs in toto mundo noster Jesus. Primaria idea et exemplar omnium in cœlis est; in quam veritatem ietur[1] aliquando, ut opus a Deo cœptum in terris perficiatur. Quod ut est promotum a Moysaicâ umbrâ ad Christianam imaginem in terris, ita ab hâc imagine ad Christianam veritatem in cœlis suo tempore promovebitur. Est enim suum cujusque tempus. Temporis momenta solus Deus novit. Qui novit tempora adumbrandi et depingendi, idem novit etiam verificandi. Ordo autem, Matrimonium, Reconciliatio, Baptismus, Confirmatio, Synaxis,[2] Extrema Unctio,—et etiam ut hæc fiant purgatione, illuminatione et perfectione, in illis quoque ordinibus primis sunt Hostiarii, Lectores, Exorcistæ, Acoliti, Hypodiaconi, Diaconi, Presbiteri, tanquam in magno hujus mundi templo, in cœlis. Sed illic, modo cœlesti et verè omnia; hìc in nobis, qui ad illud exemplar componimur, imaginariè. Quorum imaginum nomina sunt quæ modo diximus, et nostræ ecclesiæ sacramenta significantia. De quibus nunc, uti in principio statuimus, liberiùs vestigantes magis aliquid quàm diffinientes, diss[eremus].

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[1] *Ietur.*] Leg. *ibitur.* So below, p. 64, for *præteribit* the MS. has *præteriet.*

[2] *Synaxis.*] This is a common term for the Eucharist. Hammond, in his *Parœnesis,* has a section "On the frequency of Synaxes." Dionysius says that to it the term *communio,* which properly belongs to all the Sacraments, is specially applied. "Ac primum quidem illud pie inspiciendum, cujus rei gratia, quod aliis quoque venerandis divinisque mysteriis commune vocabulum est, huic præ cæteris præcipue ac peculiariter applicetur; ut singulariter communio, sive societas et Synaxis, sive collectio dicatur."—*Eccl. Hier.* c. iii. p. i.

VI.

DIVINO erant in mundo angeli scientes, et sponte desciscebant a Deo. Hic malum cœpit in creaturâ peccatum; scilicet, inobedientia, superbia, transgressio. Superbi[entis][1] a Deo est humiliari, decidique in malum. Suâ sponte longe abiit a Deo, qui erat conjunctissimus, Lucifer ille factuosus, secum contrahens in suas partes magnam angelorum catervam; quorum culpa invenialis, et discessus irrevocabilis est, quòd scienter et sponte commissus erat. Sciens enim spontaneumque peccatum non habet veniam. Est id
S. Matt. xii. 32. "contra Spiritum sanctum, quod non remittetur, neque in hoc sæculo, neque in futuro." Hic voluntariâ n[ocentiâ] in mundo et nequitiâ est malum et stultitiam et divisionem mortemque machinans assiduè: hic maximæ invidiæ homini, cujus gloriam vidit fore. Hinc hic
Gen. iii. 1. author et propagator mali, quem Moyses "serpentem callidiorem vocat cunctis animantibus terræ, quæ fecerit Dominus Deus," suasit mulieri falso promisso, ut de illecebroso fructu ligni, quod est in medio paradisi, ederet; hoc scitura Dea bonum et malum. Cui mulierculæ assensus est vir, jam sciens mali, auscultans malum, audiens sociam mulierem, quæ
Gen. iii. 14. audivit serpentem "maledictum inter omnia animantia [et bestias] terræ, pronum, terram comedentem, perpetuum inimicum mulieris et insidiosum." Hinc humano generi vita ærumnosa, dura, difficilis, plena miseriæ, extra paradisum, longè a ligno vitæ. Homo

[1] *Superbientis.*] See below, p. 53:—"Quæ volens superbire decidit a Deo." Hence *decidi* is probably a mistake for *decidere*.

quia seductus peccavit, quodammodo inscius et invitus peccavit. Unde non erat ei nihil loci misericordiæ, quum homini erat aliquid excusationis. In serpentem seductorem rejectum peccatum est. Novit Deus optimum tempus miserendi. Erat faciendum ut, qui creavit homines, idem recrearet. Creatus erat homo, ut esset conjunx divini Filii; sed sapientia Dei (de quâ exclamat Paulus, "O altitudo divitiarum sapientiæ et scientiæ Dei: quam incomprehensibilia sunt judicia ejus, et investigabiles viæ ejus. Quis cognovit sensum Domini?") illa sapientia, ut tanta misericordia adhuc major agnosceretur, sinit hominem delabi; ut non solum creatum ex nihilo, sed etiam recreatum ex malo, ducat uxorem; ut universa creatura tantam creatoris benignitatem obstupescat et revereatur. Creavit et recreavit sibi suam conjugem humanam Deus: quæ bonitatis divitiæ sunt tantæ, ut verba defecerint Paulum, quibus dignè rem tantam expromeret; sed 'divitias et opes misericordiæ' appellat. Si ante casum assumpsisset sibi in uxorem hominem, et propagatio mali, et potentia Dei in malo discutiendo, et in mundo maxima Dei sapientia et misericordia non apparuisset. Transgressiones et mala declarant æquitatem et bonitatem Dei (ut idem sentit Paulus: "Veritas Dei in mendacio abundat"): iniquitas justitiam Dei commendat, in gloriam ipsius. Materia gratiæ Dei malum est; ut morbus materia artis medicinæ, in gloriam medici. Antequam illud tantum miraculum assumptæ humanæ naturæ in creaturâ mundi ostentaretur, sivit et permisit hominem cadere in nihilum, ut ex tantâ humilitate in sublimatione hominis ingentius beneficium et Deo dignius manifestissimè cognosceretur. Præ-

Rom. xi. 33, 34.
Rom. ii. 4.
Rom. iii. 7.

destinatum erat ut homo creatus decideret, seductus ab illo qui decidit non seductus; ut in recreatione rerum in creaturis Dei potentia etiam non minor quàm in creatione appareret; misericordia autem multo major quam in creatione, quum multo majus est ex misericordiâ revocare a malo quam ex misericordiâ creare a nihilo. Nam quod non est, ut non creetur, non est causa; quod autem malum est, ut non recreetur, causa est. Magis obstat Deo malum in recreatione, quam non esse in creatione: ut multo majoris potentiæ esset recreare mundum a malo, quam creare ex nihilo. In creatione pura potentia; in recreatione pura misericordia; in utrâque summa sapientia erat; per quam Deus et potenter creavit, et misericorditer recreavit: ut in mundo tandem simul cum potentiâ timendâ, inestimabilis misericordia ejusdem amanda sapientissimè effulgeret (ut iterum atque iterum inculcat Paulus) in laudem gloriæ gratiæ suæ. Ex tantâ ergo humilitate in creaturis voluit sibi conjugem accipere altissimus Deus, et infimam naturam rationalem, eam quoque in irrationalitatem delapsam; ut suprema illa natura rationalis, quæ invidiâ decidit, magis in suam miseriam invidiâ ardeat. Est enim pœna perditis gloria salvatorum;[1] et in his quanto major est misericordia, tanto illis justitia major est altiorque vindicta. Ut liceat cernere, quàm ineffabili modo est Deus simul justus et misericors; et simul, quanto magis misericors, eo magis justus; ut in misericordiâ ejus videatur nasci justitia, et esse eadem in Deo misericordia et justitia

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[1] *Salvatorum.*] "Virtutem videant, intabescantque relictâ." Pers. Sat. iii. 38.

in unâ infinitâ sapientiâ. Longa erat declaratio imbecillitatis humanæ impotentiæque resurgendi per se, antequam eam relevavit Deus, ut deserta multo experimento et suam imbecillitatem confiteretur, et divinam misericordiam agnosceret; utque quæ volens superbire decidit a Deo, discat humilitate resurgere et referre omnia Deo. Sine lege delira erat; sub lege deliratior: opportuno tempore in extremo periculo succurrit divina misericordia, et pauperculam naturam hominis, obsitam et squalidam, quasi manu [et][1] capite apprehensam ad se traxit; exuit fœdam et tabificam vestem; discussit pulverem; extersit sordes; purgatam induit nitidam et salutarem vestem nuptialem. Idem pontifex et maritus consecravit nuptias; ut, qui angelorum pontifex est, idem sit pontifex hominum, idemque restauret ecclesias qui construxit. In creato homine tantarum nuptiarum sacramentum voluit antecedere etiam ante peccatum, ut sanctius sacramentum esset: ut mirabiliter creatus homo ex nihilo recreati hominis ex malo sit sacramentum. Adæ primo homini in creatione adjecit mulierem ad carnem propagandam; ut ex hoc primo homini in recreatione intelligatur electa femina ex latere[2] ejus recreata, redemptione effusi sanguinis, in spiritum propagandum; cui dicatur, "Crescite et multiplicamini" spiritali prole, "et replete ter- Gen. i. 28.

[1] *Et.*] In the MS. merely the letter "l."—*manu apprehensam* alone seems all that is required; unless we should read *manu capiente*.

[2] *Ex latere.*] "Nec sine causa et ipsa conjux de latere facta est. Viro dormiente, Eva facta est. Moriente Christo, Ecclesia facta est. Et illa de latere viri, cum costa detracta est: et ista de latere viri, quando latus lancea percussum est, et sacramenta profluxerunt."—S. Augustinus: *Enarratio in Psalmum* cxxvii. 11.

ram, et subjicite eam, et dominamini piscibus maris et volatilibus cœli, et universis quæ moventur super terram." In paradiso creata femina virago erat recreata in terrâ, ecclesiæ umbra, de quâ vaticinatus est Adam, primus propheta, dicens quod "relinquet homo patrem suum et matrem, et adhærebit uxori suæ; et erunt duo" in spiritu uno. Nam caro Adam significat spiritum Christi. Hoc est sacramentum quod dicit Paulus in epistolâ ad Ephesios, et præ magnitudine (ut Jeronimus scribit)[1] non explicat; sed uno fere verbo dicit quòd est "sacramentum in Christo et ecclesiâ;" malens tantum mysterium tacere, quàm de eo loqui diminutius. Idcirco admonet Ephesios ut "uxores diligant, sicut Christus ecclesiam," in sanctificationem earum, et fecundationem in spiritu, non in carne. Nam quatenus in conjugio res carnis sit, tanto veritas spiritûs minuitur. Et in paradiso erat maris et feminæ connubium sine carnali copulâ, spiritalis coitûs sacramentum. Adam autem, primus homo creatus, et parens carnalis progeniei, umbra erat secundi hominis recreati, et parentis prolis spiritalis ad numerum stellarum. Erat primus Adam minister Dei in propagatione carnis ad mortem; secundus Adam minister Dei in propaga-

Gen. ii. 24.

Eph. v. 32.

Eph. v. 25.

[1] "Gregorius Nazianzenus, vir valde eloquens, et in Scripturis apprime eruditus, cum de hoc mecum tractaret loco, solebat dicere: vide quantum istius capituli sacramentum sit, ut Apostolus in Christo illud et in Ecclesia interpretans, non se ita asserat, ut testimonii postulabat dignitas, expressisse; sed quodammodo dixerit: Scio quia locus iste ineffabilibus plenus sit sacramentis, et divinum cor quærat interpretis. Ego autem, pro pusillitate sensus mei, in Christo interim illud et in ecclesia intelligendum puto: non quo aliquid Christo et ecclesia majus sit; sed quod totum quod de Adam et de Eva dicitur, in Christo et in ecclesia interpretari posse difficile sit."—*S. Eusebii Hieronymi Commentarius in loc.* (Migne, 1845).

tione spiritûs ad vitam. Primum Adam vocat Paulus in epistolâ ad Romanos "formam futuri;" cujus gra- Rom. v. 14. tia in plures abundavit ex multis delictis in justificationem, ut justi conregnent in vitâ per unum, Jesum Christum, per cujus obedientiam homines justificantur. Is erat parens et propagator spiritûs ad vitam in terris, sicut primus Adam progenitor carnis ad mortem. Quocirca scribit Paulus ad Corinthios: "Sicut in Adam omnes moriuntur, ita et in Christo 1 Cor. xv. 22, 47. omnes vivificantur. Factus est pr[imus] homo Adam in animam viventem, novissimus Adam in spiritum vivificantem. Primus homo de terrâ terrenus; secundus homo de cœlo cœlestis." In Christo ergo non est prolificatio nisi cœlestis et spiritus. Jam (ait Paulus alibi) "neminem cognovimus secundum 2 Cor. v. 16. carnem." Nec carnalis in Christo debet esse ulla propagatio, sed tota cœlestis, ut "portemus imaginem 1 Cor. xv. 49. cœlestis," et cœlestis parentis nostri similes simus, qui fecundat suam ecclesiam, injecto in eam divino semine, ut copiosam pariat prolem justitiæ ad regnum Dei. Qui creavit Adam, ut esset imago sui, voluit ipse quodammodo recreari; ut (sicut ad Colocenses scriptum est) "qui est primogenitus omnis creaturæ," Col. i. 15. idem sit "principium, primogenitus ex mortuis," ec- Col. i. 18. clesiæ caput; ut sit in omnibus ipse primatum tenens, et creatis et recreatis, et plenis et deficientibus; qui defecit ipse maximè, ut esset etiam in recreatione et reconciliatione primas, sicuti in creatione et plenitudine et perfectione rex erat primas et primogenitus omnis creaturæ. "Quoniam in ipso condita sunt Col. i. 16. universa perfecta in cœlis et in terrâ, visibilia et invisibilia, sive throni, sive dominationes, sive principatus, sive potestates; omnia per ipsum et in ipso

creata sunt" mirificè et omnipotenter: deficiente ipso Creatore quodammodo ut creatura reficiatur;[1] ut primogenitus creaturæ sit idem primoregenitus recreaturæ, in recreatâ scilicet humanâ naturâ quæ defecit; ad quam etiam defecit Dei Filius ipse et factus est filius hominis, ut refecta natura humana fiat filia Dei et sponsa Filii æterna. Ut decidit homo in carnem, ita fuit necesse ut exemeretur ex carne comprehensione spiritûs, fiatque ex carne spiritalis; carne, quæ regnavit, a spiritu victâ; ut spiritus existens homo idoneus esset ut spiritali connubio cum Deo ipso conjungeretur; cum quo nequaquam conjungi potest nisi sit summè spiritalis. Proportione enim aliquâ oportet sint quæ copulentur. Caro enim longè distat a Deo, ut carnalem hominem cum Deo conjungi sit impossibile. Hinc Paulus et reliqui apostoli suadent et imperant, quoad maximè possunt, mortificationem carnis et revivificationem in spiritu; semper hoc docentes planè, nisi homines fiant spiritus, eos Deo, ut unus fiat spiritus, adhærere non posse.
Rom. vi. 4. "Commortuos et consepultos" dicit Paulos nos esse
Ib. v. 6. in Christo, in epistolâ ad Romanos. "Vetus homo noster simul crucifixus est, ut destruatur corpus peccati, ut ultra non serviamus peccato." Est paulo
Ib. vii. 24. post, "Quis me liberabit a corpore mortis hujus?"

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[1] *Reficiatur.*] "How, will some say, can this be? After this manner. The comparison is taken from our first parents. Eve was made of a ribbe taken out of Adams side, he being cast into a slumber: this being done, Adam awaked and saide, *This is now bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh.* Christ was nayled on the crosse, and his most pretious blood was shedde, and out of it arise and spring all true Christians; that is, out of the merit of Christ's death and passion, whereby they become newe creatures."—Perkins, *Exposition of the Creede* (1597), p. 687.

Item, "Sapientia carnis inimica est Deo;" et, "Prudentia carnis, mors." "Qui in carne sunt, Deo placere non possunt." "Si Christus in vobis est, corpus quidem mortuum est propter peccatum, spiritus vivit propter justificationem. Si spiritu facta carnis mortificaveritis, vivetis." Et adhuc postea: "Obsecro vos, fratres, per misericordiam Dei, ut exhibeatis corpora vestra hostiam viventem, sanctam, Deo placentem, rationabile obsequium. Et nolite conformari huic sæculo, sed reformamini in novitate" spiritus et "sensus vestri; ut probetis quæ sit voluntas Dei bona et beneplacens et perfecta." Ad Corinthios: "Animalis homo non sapit ea quæ Dei sunt; stultitia enim est illi, et non potest intelligere, quia spiritaliter examinatur. Spiritalis autem judicat omnia." Quem dicit animalem hominem, eundem mox postea "carnalem" dicit, et "secundum carnem ambulare." Et in II ad Corinthios: "Semper nos, qui vivimus, in mortem tradimur propter Jesum; ut vita Jesu manifestetur in carne nostrâ mortali;" et in eodem loco: "Semper mortificationem Jesu Christi in corpore circumferentes, ut et vita Jesu manifestetur in corporibus nostris." Item, "Unus pro omnibus mortuus est Christus;" et in Christo "omnes mortui sunt; ut, qui vivunt, jam non sibi vivant, sed ei qui pro eis mortuus est et resurrexit. Itaque nos ex hoc neminem novimus secundum carnem. Si qua ergo in Christo nova creatura, vetera transierunt; ecce nova facta sunt omnia." Et illud: "Libenter gloriabor in infirmitatibus meis, ut inhabitet in me virtus Christi. Quum infirmor, tunc fortior sum." Ad Galathas: "Si hominibus placerem, Christi servus non essem." Item, "Ego per legem legi mortuus

Rom. viii. 7, 6. — Ib. vv. 10, 13. — Ib. xii. 1, 2. — 1 Cor. ii. 14, 15. — Ib. iii. 3. — 2 Cor. iv. 11. — Ib. iv. 10. — 2 Cor. v. 14, 17. — 2 Cor. xii. 9, 10. — Gal. i. 10. — Gal. ii. 19, 20.

sum, ut Deo vivam: Christo crucifixus sum cruci. Vivo jam non ego; vivit vero in me Christus." Et
Gal. v. 16, 17. illud: "Spiritu ambulate, et desideria carnis non perficietis. Caro enim concupiscit adversus spiritum; spiritus adversus carnem: hæc enim sibi invicem
Ib. vv. 24, 25. adversantur." Et paulo post: "Qui autem sunt Christi, carnem suam crucifixerunt cum vitiis et concupiscentiis. Si vivimus spiritu, spiritu ambulemus."
Gal. vi. 14, 15. Et post hæc: "Mihi absit gloriari, nisi in cruce Domini nostri Jesu Christi; per quem mihi mundus crucifixus est, et ego mundo." In quo "nihil valet nisi nova creatura." Et ad Ephesios scribens, Deum
Eph. i. 3. patrem appellat, "qui benedixit nos in omni benedic-
Eph. iv. 22-24, 30. tione spiritali in cœlestibus." Et illud: "Deponite vos secundum pristinam conversationem veterem hominem, qui corrumpitur secundum desideria erroris, et renovamini spiritu mentis vestræ; et induite novum hominem, qui secundum Deum creatus est in justitiâ et sanctitate veritatis. Et nolite contristare
Eph. v. 18. Spiritum." Et, "Implemini Spiritu sancto." "Est
Eph. vi. 12, 11. nobis colluctatio adversus spiritalia nequitiæ in cœlestibus," quæ vincenda sunt "armaturâ Dei." Et ad
Phil. i. 21. Philippenses: "Mihi vivere Christus est, et mori lu-
Phil. iii. 10-14. crum." Et illud: "Configuratus morti ejus; si quando ad resurrectionem occurram quæ est ex mortuis; si quomodo comprehendam in quo et comprehensus sum a Christo Jesu. Quæ quidem retro sunt obliviscens, ad ea quæ priora sunt extendens me ipsum, ad destinatum prosequor bravium supernæ vocationis
Col. i. 24. in Christo Jesu." Ad Collocenses: "Nunc gaudeo in passionibus pro vobis, ut impleam ea quæ desunt
Col. iii. 5. passionum Christi in carne meâ." Item: "Mortificate membra vestra quæ sunt supra terram." Depo-

nite et "exspoliate veterem hominem cum actibus suis, et induite novum." Sed quorsum hæc testimonia?" Nempe ut intelligamus, si Deo, qui spiritus est, conjungi et copulari voluerimus, nos necessario mortificatâ carne spiritales omnino esse oportere, et penitus novos in Christo, ad formam illius hominis in Christo viventes, qui exemplum dedit ut sequamur vestigia ejus; qui ob id causæ solùm assumpsit hominem, ut spiritalem et divinam in homine vitam ostendat hominibus, doceatque quam vestem nuptialem induat homo, si velit a Deo in uxorem duci. Non locatur matrimonio Deo nisi virgo rejuvenescens spiritu, "sine rugâ, sine maculâ, aut aliquid ejusmodi, tota sancta et immaculata," casta cum sancto, spiritalis et divina cum spiritu et Deo. Cujusmodi puellam Dominus, quando "de cœlo prospexit, ut videret si esset intelligens aut requirens Deum," sibi in terris non invenit; quoniam "omnes declinaverunt, simul inutiles facti sunt: non erat qui fecit bonum, non erat usque ad unum." Fuit igitur necesse sanè, ut Deus, creator omnium, quum voluit in terris (misericordiâ quantâ excogitari potest a nemine) uxorem ducere, et hominem arctissimâ copulâ sibi astring[ere], eam crearet. Creavit primum hominem in utero matris Virginis Mariæ; quem secundum Adam conjunxit sibi, sanctum penitus et sine labe peccati, cujusmodi erat primus Adam antequam cecidit. In illo Dei Filius apparuit hominibus; ut omnes volentes credere crearet[1] ejusmodi, adscisceretque multos, ex peccatoribus factos justos, in societate Filii sui, in

Col. iii. 9, 10.

Eph. v. 27.

Ps. xiii. 2, 3.

[1] *Crearet.*] If *Dei Filius* be right, the subject of this verb is changed to *Deus;* as shown by *Filii sui* below.

sanctam sibi conjugem, quæ vocatur ecclesia; quam
2 Cor. v. 17. Paulus sæpe vocat "in Christo novam creaturam;" ut sacrosanctis nuptiis et divino coitu homo cum Deo (femina homo) in amplexu tanti viri et Dei summè perficiatur, et quæ erat sterilis plenè fecundetur in illo misericordi concubitu Dei Filii; ut, quasi semine concepto, pariat copiosum fructum in se sanctitatis et justitiæ, quæ sunt bona opera, quæ sæpe Paulus vocat fructus in vitam æternam. Ad Galathas scribit:
Gal. v. 22, 23. "Fructus autem spiritûs est charitas, gaudium, pax, patientia, longanimitas, bonitas, benignitas, mansuetudo, fides, modestia, continentia, castitas." Hæ virtutes sunt quasi soboles Filii Dei et ecclesiæ: opera justitiæ quasi filii sunt Dei et suæ conjugis ecclesiæ. Homines vocantur in ecclesiam in partem uxoris Dei, ut divino semine impregnentur, et, quum antea friguerint, jam caleant, et ex charitate pariant spissè bona opera, et justitiam, quæ proles est æterna Dei et ecclesiæ.

		Dei Filii æterni		
Deus Pater	Dei filii		Christus maritus	Proles justitiæ bonorumque operum.
		Hominis temporalis filiæ		
	Deæ filiæ		Ecclesia uxor Dei	
		Hominum confiliarum		

Homines, confratres vel consorores filiæ Dei Patris, una conjux est Filii Dei: homini in Christo consorores sumus, Deitati in Christo conjuges. Illi etam Deitati quasi sorores; quibus nupsit æternus Dei Filius, ut ecclesia sit ei in communi Patris domo et soror et conjux;[1] soror creata a Deo Patre ut eam uxorem ducat Filius, eam fecundans justitiâ in æter-

[1] *Et soror et conjux.*] Thus was fulfilled and spiritualized the legend of the ancients concerning the children of Saturn. See the passages quoted at § ii. of Fulgentius's *Mythologiæ* (1681), p. 36.

nitatem. Itaque ecclesia homini in Christo consoror est: Deo Filio in Christo et soror et conjux: Deo Patri filia virago. Sed filia Dei virilior est viris filiis hominum. Deus Pater genuit sibi æternâ generatione coæternum Filium: genuit quidem in se, et ex se ipso, et quasi coit in se ipso, ut Filium progignat in se ipso; ut illo ineffabili modo esset simul [Pater] et Mater. Genitus autem Filius ille æternus, Dei Patris virtus et sapientia, quum cœperit amare, non potuit esse cui non tradatur uxor. Nam ex amore implere, perficere, et in alio et cum alio propagare imaginem et similitudinem suam,—tanta virtus abesse divinis et divino Filio non potest. Hoc est matrimonium; conjunctio maris et feminæ: quæ, si bona est, debet esse prima in primo, ut a primo deinceps quæ sunt nominentur. Dei Filius ergo primus maritus est, a quo omnis maritatio in cœlo et in terrâ nominatur. Est vir ipse, et ipsa masculinitas, feminæ creaturæ perfectio. Quanquam illi destinata erat conjux, tamen non statim ei data fuit. "Primogenitus omnis creaturæ," ut vocat Paulus in epistolâ ad Collocenses, "In quo condita sunt universa in cœlis et in terrâ, visi- Col. i. 15, 16. bilia et invisibilia, sive throni, sive dominationes, sive principatus, sive potestates; omnia per ipsum et in ipso creata sunt:"—ille primogenitus creaturæ et imago invisibilis Dei, creaturam ad imaginem Dei conditam, id est, hominem creatum, illico duxisset uxorem, si puella hæc lasciva in paradiso non violata fuisset. Quâ ob id causæ repudiatâ, mansit viduus vir ille Filius Dei, donec Pater genuerat sibi filiam incorruptam, quam Filio suo nubendam tradat; quam quum voluit ex corruptâ carne et adulteratâ illâ in paradiso progignere, ut opus Dei ordine procedat, magno opus erat præparamento, magno etiam et

vario rerum successu. Ante omnia vero opus erat, ut tantâ res futura digno et congruo sacramento significaretur. Est semper intelligendum, sensibilia et carnalia in hominibus intelligibilium et spiritualium esse sacramenta.[1] Quum provisum erat Adam casurum, cui erat adjecta femina, ut ex eo carnali fluat progenies, simul prædestinata erat ex cœlo virtus processura, quæ comprehendens hominem serperet spiritificans in interitum carnis; quæ esset alia propago et secunda, cui prima illa propago ut umbra præcessit, et potentibus intelligere ut sacramentum. Voluit ergo Deus in corrupto homine depingere eam veritatem, quæ incorrupto homine evenit suo tempore. Usus est corruptelâ mundi pro materiâ significationis. Veritas significata ex cœlo tandem contrario cursu se influit in mundum, lapis
1 Pet. ii. 8. objectus fluctibus, "lapis offensionis et petra scandali," ad quem delabens mundus se frangit, qui est mundo omnino contrarius, et cœlestis fluvius, mun-
Ps. xlv. 5. dano omnino objectus; "fluvius ille impetuosus, qui lætificat civitatem Dei." Hæc est restauratio mundi per vim revelantem. Mundo bene creato et condito,
Gen. i. 31. ("Vidit Deus," inquit, "cuncta quæ fecerat, et erant valde bona") ruinæ cœperunt esse, quas reparaturus erat Deus per Filium suum, et reædificaturus mundum, ac quasi novum mundum facturus; ut nuptiæ, gloria, regnum sit Filio suo, qui erat apud Patrem
Gen. ii. 18. antiquus Adam. Sed "non est bonum hominem

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[1] *Sacramenta.*] *Eccl. Hier.* c. ii. p. iii. "Sunt enim (ut Libro de *Intelligibilibus et Sensibilibus* aperte docuimus) visibilia sacramenta intelligibilium imagines quædam; quibus ad ea recto itinere ducimur. Porro intelligibilia visibilium sacramentorum initium sunt atque scientia."

esse solum. Dixit ergo Dominus Deus, Faciamus ei adjutorium simile sibi." Hinc Paulus vocat ecclesiam coadjutorem Dei in propagatione justitiæ: proles enim Filii Dei et ecclesiæ conjugis justitia est. Adam ille antiquus nominavit omnia proprio nomine; quo verbo erant creata omnia. At huic Filio Dei non erat reperta uxor, quam impleret semine divino in propagationem justitiæ. "Adæ non inveniebatur adjutor similis ejus." Voluit Deus Adam in sopore esse in humanâ carne, ex ejus latere viraginem [sumpturus],[1] propter quam relinquet Filius Dei Patrem suum et Matrem, et adhærebit uxori suæ, et erunt duo in spiritu uno. Sed ut serpens Evam, ita serpens est qui seducit ecclesiam. Quapropter Paulus ad Corinthios, "Timeo," inquit, "ne, sicut serpens feminam seduxit astutiâ suâ, ita corrumpantur sensus vestri, et excidant a simplicitate quæ est in Christo;" qui assumpsit sibi ecclesiam in uxorem, ut non edat de ligno scientiæ boni et mali, sed adhæreat illi simplici fide, a quâ si cadat in ratiocinationem boni et mali, tum cadit a fide et Christo. "Despondi vos uni viro" (Filio Dei), "virginem castam" (simplicitate fidei) "exhibere Christo;" qui reliquit patrem et matrem (id est, Deum qui illum genuit ex seipso, ut esset et Pater et Mater) ut adhæreret uxori suæ ecclesiæ; quam, sanguine ex latere effuso et morte Christi redemptam, Pater sibi adoptavit in filiam, ut ei nubat Filius suus. Ad Romanos: "Vos mortificati estis legi per corpus Christi, ut sitis alterius" (id est, Filii Dei unà cum homine assumpto illo)

Gen. ii. 20.

2 Cor. xi. 3.

2 Cor. xi. 2.

Rom. vii. 4.

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[1] *Sumpturus.*] "Hæc vocabitur virago, quoniam de viro *sumpta* est."—Gen. ii. 23.

"qui resurrexit a mortuis," ut vos novi cum illo homine, et conjux Christi, "fructificetis Deo." Hic fructus justitiæ est masculina virtus, et filius Dei et ecclesiæ. Vos enim estis membra de membro, id est, homines adhærentes homini illi primo, ut unà cum illo sitis in uxore Dei, uniti et adhærentes illi, quam uxorem humanam vocat Paulus, facturam et creaturam ex nequitiâ hujus mundi. Cujus rei et matrimonii, conjunctionisque feminei hominis cum masculino Deo, sacramentum dicit in epistolâ ad Ephesios magnum illud sanxitum matrimonium Adæ et Evæ fuisse, qui primi erant homines;[1] et in illis primum sacramentum et prima prophetia; quod illud et carnalia omnia in alio progressu spiritali, incepto a Christo, perfici debent spiritaliter, in finitionem
S. Matth. v. 18. eorum quæ sunt carnis. "Iota," dixit ille secundus Adam, "et apex unus non præteribit de lege, donec omnia fiant." Adam divinum Filium, Eva ecclesiam significat: matrimonium inter Adam et Evam, matrimonium sanctum inter Dei Filium et ecclesiam, in fecunditatem justitiæ, quæ proles est Dei et ecclesiæ. Propagatio illa carnalis ad mortem; hæc per Christum propagatio justitiæ ad vitam. Hæc omnia sunt signa et sacramenta novi mundi in Christo, ut nec

[1] Compare the Paraphrase of Erasmus on Eph. v. ad f. "Subest hic ineffabile quoddam et ingens arcanum, quomodo quod in Adam et Eva sub typo gestum est, in Christo et in ecclesiâ mystice peragatur. Hujus individuam copulam quisquis scrutabitur, intelliget magnum subesse mysterium. Nam quemadmodum ipse cum Patre unum erat, ita et suos omnes unum voluit esse secum. Quod arcanum licet retrusius sit quàm ut in præsentia sit explicandum, tamen in hoc sat est attulisse exemplum, ut suam quisque uxorem non secus diligat atque se ipsum diligit; memineritque, secum illam unum et idem esse, quemadmodum Christus adamavit ecclesiam suam, quam sibi intime adjunxit."

iota nec apex prætereat donec omnia fiant. Postquam ceciderit homo quàm longissimè a Deo in nihilum, in parandâ hâc conjuge multum erat laboris et negotii. Ut Dei opus ordine procederet, summa et serenior pars humani erat reservata, et ea quoque in humano genere ordine fluens, donec tandem [p]urissima virgo, flos ex radice Jesse, fructificaverit Jesum, masculum et feminam, in quo erat masculus Deus et femineus homo. Id est quod Moyses ait: "Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem Gen. i. 26, 27.
nostram; et præsit piscibus maris, et volatilibus cœli, et bestiis, universæ[que] terræ, omnique reptili quod movetur in terrâ. Et creavit Deus hominem ad imaginem suam; ad imaginem Dei creavit illum; masculum et feminam creavit eos." Hic est Jesus, masculinus Deo, et femininus humanitate, per quam attraxit sibi reliquos homines in completionem conjugis suæ, ut incrementum et multiplicatio sit, et repletio, et subjectio terræ per justitiam. Hic est quem Paulus vocat "principium, primogenitus" (id est, primore- Col. i. 18.
genitus), "ut sit ipse in omnibus primatum tenens." In quo est factura rerum, et refactura inchoata ab homine, quæ conjux assumpta est per caput, qui est homo, a Mariâ virgine sumptus; cui sunt reliqui vocati homines membra ex membro, ex quibus omnibus constat una ecclesia, cujus maritus est Dei Filius. Quæ ecclesia ut effingeretur apta ad nuptias, antecessit Moysaica lex: immo illic, ut in brevi tabulâ, quæ est futura ecclesia in mundo significatur a Patre facto capite ecclesiæ; et, datâ Filio suo in manum, agit idem Pater in completionem uxoris Filii sui. Nemo venit nisi Pater traxerit in conjugium: simul Filius fecundat in frugem justitiæ veræ

et simplicis, tum in Deum tum in homines. Itaque æterno genito Filio, Pater in terris genuit filiam ecclesiam, et eam locavit matrimonio Filio suo. Hinc Filius Dei apud Marcum se sponsum vocavit; dicens, S. Mark, ii. 19, 20. "Numquid filii nuptiarum, quamdiu sponsus cum illis est, possunt jejunare? Quanto tempore habent secum sponsum, non possunt jejunare. Veniet autem tempus quum auferetur ab eis sponsus; et tunc jejunabunt illis diebus." De his nuptiis est illa parabola S. Matth. xxii. 2. apud Matthæum, "Hominem regem" (id est, Deum Patrem) "fecisse nuptias Filio suo; vocasse quàm plurimos, sed illos indignos non venisse; vocatos multos, paucos venisse." Primum ergo quod est in ecclesiâ nostrâ est pontifici nostro veritas nuptiarum; in quâ quia non est significatio, sed ipsa veritas, ideo puto Dionysium in *Ecclesiasticâ Hierarchiâ* de matrimonio tacuisse, cujus sacramentum antecessit. Hinc inter Deum et ecclesiam veræ sunt nuptiæ, et feminei hominis cum masculino Deo fecundissima conjunctio; ad quam omnia sacramenta in ecclesiâ tendunt; ut homines parentur, et in illis sanctis nuptiis contineantur sacramentis purgatoriis, illuminatoriis et perfectoriis. Homo in Dei Filium assumptus purissimus, illuminatissimus, et perfectissimus erat, et vera Dei uxor. Is sacerdotium instituit apostolos; qui pœnitentiâ, baptismo, confirmatione, eucharistiâ, extremâ unctione, expurgent, illuminent, perficiant, et talibus sacramentis consignent homines in uxorem Christi et Dei. Consecravit primum sibi sacerdotes, ad exemplum angelorum, pontifex ille et sponsus; qui sunt primi in sponsâ Dei, et quasi mulieris anima; ut reliquum sponsæ corpus conficiant purgatum, illuminatum, et perfectum, ac ejusmodi dignis sacramentis

Unum:
- Vir, Deus: Anima corporis mystici; Dei Patris Filius æternus: maritus ecclesiæ æternus . . . .
- Femina, Homo.
  - Homo in Christo, caput ecclesiæ. .
  - Homines Christiani, reliquum corpus.
  - } Totum corpus ecclesiæ
    - Anima sacerdotalis.
    - Corpus populare . .
      - Spiritalius.
      - Carnalius.
        - Anima corporis.
        - Corpus animæ.
          - Forma.
          - Materia

} Sacrum conjugium.

consignent, ut sensibili sigillo et impressione spiritalem impressionem agnoscant. Dei Filius, pontifex noster, vir, et sponsus, purgator idem et illuminator et perfector, sanxivit nuptias inter se et sororem suam adoptatam in domum Patris sui: instituit sub se filios et pontifices, qui reliquam conjugem consecrent Deo. Quæ quia corporea et caduca est, corporeis[1] sacramentis, tanquam retinaculis quibusdam, colligant; pœnitentiâ, baptismo, confirmatione, eucharistiâ, et extremâ unctione. Omnia ad hæc tendunt, ut compleatur conjux, et nuptiæ Christi. Sacerdotes sunt mariti in marito et sacerdote Jesu; et in illo purgantes pœnitentia, illuminantes baptismo et confirmatione, et perficientes eucharistiâ et extremâ unctione. Quid est tota ecclesia nisi matrimonium illud spiritale, vir et uxor, ordinati etiam et qui ordinentur, purgatione, illuminatione et perfectione, ut sordes, tenebræ et defectus carnis tollatur a secundo Adam? Pontifex et sponsus se propagat, et in illo omnes pontifices sunt sponsi, et agunt in illo pontificale munus, et parationem uxoris, et fecundationem divino semine, et verbo Dei, ut eo fecunda ecclesia parens et mater sit justitiæ. Ordo ergo primum est in ecclesiâ; pontifex enim ipse Christus; et in illo

Matrimonium.
Ordo Sacerdotii.
Pœnitentia.
Baptismus.
Confirmatio.
Eucharistia.
Extrema Unctio.

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[1] *Corporeis sacr.*] "Primis et summis hominibus apertiores sunt visiones, ac in mentes eorum irradiatio simplicior deitatis. Reliquis deinde crassioribus per signa commode indicantur omnia; et morum effictio, et Dei excultio, et veritatis expectatio."—Colet, *in Cœl. Hier.* (School MS., fol. 6, a).

- Unum
  - Vir, Deus.
  - Femina, ecclesia.
    - Vir, sacerdos.
    - Femina, populus.
      - Vir, Anima.
      - Femina, Corpus.
        - Vir, Forma Corporis.
        - Femina, Materia.
        - Proles, tertium compositum.
      - Proles, Humanitas.
    - Proles, Christianitas.

Omnia hæc unus est Jesus Christus.

deinde simul matrimonium, et in illo pontifices et sponsi agentes pontificatum et sponsionem Christi, ut spiritales nuptias propagent, omniaque contrahant ordine in conjugem Christi, et in eodem contineantur. Ipsa veritas pontificis est Dei Filius, qui et angelorum est idem quoque veritas sponsi. Superior ecclesiæ pars in ratione pontificis et sponsi illum imitatur, ut in pontifice et sponso Deo pontificem et sponsum agat, et sacrificet, prolemque progignat. In quâ actione quia idem est sponsus et pontifex, idcirco idem est proles et sacrificium, quæ [justitia] est, quæ sacrificatur a pontifice et progignitur a sponso. In quâ re idem est sacrificatio et progeneratio. Ut enim idem est sacrificans et generans (id est, pontifex et sponsus in summo pontifice et sponso Deo Christo), ita eadem est actio, sacrificatio et prolificatio; et eadem oblatio et proles, quæ est justitia; quam ecclesia, sanctificata et fecundata a Deo Filio, et offert et parit prolem et sacrificium. In personâ
Ps. iv. 6, 7. ecclesiæ, David in Psalmo quarto jubet, "Sacrificate sacrificium justitiæ, et sperate in Domino: multi dicunt, Quis ostendit nobis bona? Signatum est super nos lumen vultûs tui, Domine." In quo annotandum est breviter ibi a prophetâ tactas esse illas tres virtutes celeberrimas, spem, fidem et caritatem.
Ib. iv. 10. Jubet enim speremus, qui "sumus constituti in spe singulariter," id est simpliciter, et "sumus signati lumine" fidei, quod est signum vultûs et veritatis Dei: et "Sacrificate sacrificium justitiæ," quod idem sacrificium est et proles Dei et ecclesiæ. Quid enim aliud est sacrificare quàm parere, et procreare ex semine et fecunditate Dei vivas et pingues hostias, vitali sanguine plenas? Et id quoque quidnam aliud

est quàm justè agere, offerreque justitiam Domino illi justitiæ justificanti, et fecunditatis Domino fecundanti; ut idem sit pontifex justus justificans, et sponsus fecundus fecundans ecclesiam sponsam, quæ est gens sancta et sacerdotalis sacrificans, et eadem mater fecunda verbo et semine Dei pariens, justitiam, sacrificium et prolem Deo Filio, parenti genitorique justitiæ in suâ uxore ecclesiâ. Paulus autem, agens in Jesu vero pontifice et sponso, personam pontificis et sponsi, sæpe in suis epistolis, in quibus se vocat "dispensatorem mysteriorum Dei," et coadjutorem quatenus ad pontificatus officium attinet, scribit in epistolâ ad Romanos hisce verbis: "Audacius autem Rom. xv. 15,16.
scripsi vobis, fratres, ex parte, tanquam in memoriam vobis reducens, propter gratiam quæ data est mihi a Deo" (in quo ago ministerium), "ut sim minister Jesu Christi in gentibus, sanctificans evangelium Dei, ut fiat oblatio gentium accepta" (id est, justitia in eis) "et sanctificata in Spiritu Sancto;" in obedientiâ scilicet Deo. Et ad eosdem Romanos, quos velit gentem esse sanctam et sacerdotalem, (nam est sacerdotis sacerdotium propagare: nihil enim est munus et officium cujusque, nisi propagatio ejusdem, et qui se sacrificavit Deo efficere ut secum alii consacrificent, ut tota ecclesia sit sacerdotium consacrificans justitiam, id est, quisque in eâ se justum, vivam hostiam, offerat Deo) scribit: "Obsecro itaque Rom. xii. 1, 2.
vos, fratres, per misericordiam Dei, ut exhibeatis corpora vestra hostiam viventem, sanctam, Deo placentem, rationale obsequium vestrum. Et nolite conformari huic sæculo; sed reformamini in novitate spiritûs vestri; ut probetis quæ sit voluntas Dei bona, beneplacens et perfecta." Hìc ecclesia inferior

superiorem ecclesiam imitatur, et sacrificans se illam sacrificantem se Deo contendit referre. Quia nihil est aliud officium in ecclesiâ, quàm sacrificatio sui cujusque Deo; et id quoque nihil est aliud quàm se filium Dei facere. Sacrificare est ergo facere filium summo pontifici et sponso. Et ecclesia est sacerdos et mater; justitia est sacrificium et proles. Masculinior pars cùm femininiori agit assidue, ut a totâ simul sacrificium et proles offeratur. Offert masculinior ut gignens, femininior ut mater et parens. Tota res una est et simplex, et quasi arbor fructificans. "Filioli mei," inquit ad Galathas Paulus, "quos iterum parturio, donec formetur in vobis Christus." Ibi Christum sponsum imitatur, cujus est in conjuge formare filios justitiæ, facereque ut conjux sacerdos offerat filios Deo, justa sacrificia justitiæ. Est enim ecclesia soror Christi, et mater et sacerdos justitiæ; sponsa et sacerdos pati ns non agens. Sunt enim sacrificantes agentes, et sacrificantes patientes. Una sacrificat agens, et [una][1] pars patiens in ecclesiâ. Et tota ecclesia, ut Petrus scribit, "genus electum, regale sacerdotium, gens sancta, populus acquisitionis" est simul; "ut modo geniti infantes, ut crescamus in salutem," in similitudinem Domini; "ad quem accedentes, lapidem vivum, electum, ipsi lapides vivi superædificemur, domus spiritalis, sacerdotium sanctum, offerentes spiritales hostias, acceptabiles Deo per Jesum Christum. Hæc hostia est suum cujusque in se sacrificium justitiæ Deo in Christo, quæ etiam justitia est filia Dei in nobis genita, verbo Dei audito et credito, et nobis edita.

Gal. iv. 19.

1 Peter ii. 9; 2, 3, 4.

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[1] *Una.*] There is no blank in the MS, but the word seems to be required.

VII.

Huc ergo ventum est tandem vago hoc sermone, ut habeamus matrimonium et sacerdotium in Christo omnino esse idem, et eandem actionem effectumque habere; sacrificareque esse idem quod gignere, et prolem idem quod sacrificium, quæ justitia est: hanc rem, matrimonialeque sacerdotium, et sacerdotale matrimonium, venisse et derivatum esse in homines ab ipso sacerdote et sponso Jesu Christo. In quo, ad imitationem ipsius, deinceps in reliquâ ecclesiâ procedet simul et idem sacerdotium et matrimonium sanctum, sanctificans sanctam ecclesiam Deo; ut totum officium superioris et masculinioris partis in ecclesiâ sit studere in sanctificationem inferioris; inferioris autem obedire in omnibus, ut sanctificetur. Id est quod Paulus latenter suadet in Epistolâ ad Ephesios, quum viri et mulieris officium docet: mulieris scilicet officium obedire in omnibus viro in sanctificationem s[uam] ab illo in Domino; viri autem (qui caput est mulieris, sicut ecclesiæ Christus) diligere uxorem, et ad exemplum Christi seipsum tradere pro eâ, sanctificans eam et mundans lavacro aquæ gratiæ in Verbo Vitæ; ut exhiberet ipse sibi gloriosam uxorem, non habentem maculam, neque rugam, aut aliquid ejusmodi, sed sanctam et immaculatam. Nam in Christo sponsum esse, est illum imitari, et sanctificationem corporis sui agere, id est mulieris, in æternitatem; sicut in primâ generatione mulier egit corruptionem capitis sui viri in mortalitatem: item fecundare adhærentem sibi conjugem, et implere justitiâ; ut, "sicut exhibuimus membra nostra servire immunditiæ, et iniquitati ad iniquitatem, ita nunc

Eph. v. 22, sq.

Rom. vi. 19.

exhibeamus membra nostra servire justitiæ in sanctificationem." Jesus enim, castus sponsus, propagator spiritûs, extat nobis exemplum. Omnis actio in ecclesiâ debet esse imitatio illius, ut non sit in eâ quicquam, nisi quod ipsum est in illo verius; nec debet esse in ecclesiâ nisi quod ab illius veritate derivetur. Ille maritus est ecclesiæ in sanctificationem ejus; qui, caput illius, se ipsum tradidit pro ea, ut illam sanctificet et impleat fetu justititæ. In hunc finem debet esse quisque maritus in ecclesiâ in Domino, in sanctificationem uxoris suæ et castum conjugium; ut, sicut ab Adam[1] peccatore profluxit carnalis generatio in mortem, ita ab Adam justo profluat spiritalis generatio in vitam æternam. Carnalis autem generatio, tametsi mollitudini hominum in c. vii. primâ epistolâ ad Corinthios ab apostolo indulgetur, necessitate magis quàm voluntate, tamen ipsa non est res Christi: nec ea nec ejus prolificatio in Christianitate requiritur[2] necessario, tametsi necessario mol-

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[1] *Ab Adam.*] "Adam must be considered not as a private man, but as a roote or head, bearing in it all mankind; or as a publike person representing all his posteritie; and therefore, when he sinned, all his posteritie sinned with him: as in a parliment, whatsoever is done by the burgesse for the shiere, is done by every person in the shiere." —Perkins, *Exposition of the Creede* (1597), p. 154.

[2] *Requiritur.*] Compare with this strong opinion what Sir Thomas More writes in his *Utopia* (tr. by Robinson, 1624, p. 125):—" They be divided into two sects: the one, of them that live single and chaste, abstaining not only from the company of women, but also from eating of flesh, and some of them from all maner of beasts. Which, utterly rejecting the pleasures of this present life as hurtfull, be all wholly set upon the desire of the life to come . . . . . The other sect is no lesse desirous of Labour, but they embrace Matrimonie, not despising the solace thereof, thinking that they cannot be discharged of their bounden duties towards nature, without labour and toile, nor towards their native countrey, without procreation of children. They abstaine

libus et infirmis permittitur. Est enim illa res hominis creati in damnationem, non recreati hominis in Christo in salutem. Ratio enim sacramenti in eo, modo adsit veritas ipsa matrimonii, evanescat et abeat necesse est. Materiam regenerationis satis suppeditasset paganitas, si in eâ parte ecclesia omnino sterilis fuisset. Nec erat timendum ne tota paganitas Christianizet, quum nunc quoque sub ipso nomine Christianitatis maxima pars hominum paganizet. Veritas sincera semper rara est, et in paucis. Et perrexisset generatio carnalis in filiis hominum, et simul ex iisdem generatio spiritalis a filiis Dei. De quâ re consulentibus Corinthiis in Epistolâ respondit Paulus: Incontinentibus, vitandæ 1 Ep. Cor. vii. fornicationis causâ, ex indulgentiis licere eis uxores suas tenere, si habent; si non habeant, ducere, et in matrimonio rem mutuo reddere, quando libidinis ardor et necessitas urget. Verum hæc invitus permittit, qui voluit omnes esse sicut ipse erat, virgo; et suadet, quatenus per infirmitatem impotentiamque continendi licet, disjugatis, tum viduis tum virginibus, soluti et liberi maneant Deo. Beatiores eos dicit, si sic permanserint, quia virgines et viduæ quietius et simplicius vacabunt Deo, vero marito suo. Verum in omnibus non est sanitas quidem, et ægrotis indulgendum est ex ecclesiæ misericordiâ. "Unusquisque Ib. vii. 7.

from no pleasure that doth nothing hinder them from labour. They love the flesh of foure-footed beasts, because they beleeve that by the meat they be made hardie and stronger to worke. The Utopians count this sect the wiser, but the other the holyer. Which in that they preferre single life before matrimony, and that sharpe life before the easier life, if herein they grounded upon reason, they would mocke them: But now forasmuch as they say they be led to it by religion, they honour and worship them."

proprium donum habet; alius quidem sic, alius vero sic." In tantâ infirmitate non audet Paulus laqueum injicere optimis, necnon indulgere aliquatenus deteriori. Quod facit eâ lege, ut homines eâ licentiâ utantur. Siquidem qui velint potius sani esse, et tales ut indulgentiâ nihilo egeant, alioquin sponte videntur ægrotare et insanire; quod est in ecclesiâ Christianâ detestabile, ut aliquis scilicet sponte langueat mulieretque, quum sumus vocati in virilem dignitatem, non ut turpe aliquid et carnale muliebriter agamus. At imbecillioribus, et non valentibus agere quod melius est, ipsum tametsi malum est, tamen ægroto non est malum; modo medicinâ indultâ utatur non amplius quam suus morbus exposcat. Quum videt omnes in ecclesiâ ad exemplum Christi cœlibes esse oportere, tamen simul vidit omnes non posse. Quapropter, ut velit potentes cœlibes vivere, ita impotentes permisit refrigerio sui ardoris uti. Optandum est tamen ut tota Christianitas esset in cœlibatu; quod optavit ipse Paulus, quando dixit,
1 Cor. vii. 7. "Vellem vos omnes esse sicut ego sum;" quoniam sancta ecclesia Christi, tota spiritalis, non requirit nisi matrimonium spiritale et spiritalem prolificationem in marito nostro Jesu Christo; in quo carnales homines sunt facti spiritales, ut propagationem non agant nunc, nisi angelorum more, ad exemplum Christi, spiritalem justitiæ.

In superiore parte ecclesiæ in Christo est ordo, et matrimonium, ut ita dicam, masculinum, quod vocatur sacerdotium, quod ipsum est etiam sponsus in sponso, quod partitur in varios ordines. Sunt Presbyteri, quos Dionysius vocat Pontifices.[1] Sunt etiam

[1] See above, p. 47.

quos ille vocat Ministros; in quibus sunt Subdiaconi, Acoliti, Exorcistæ, Lectores, Hostiarii; qui omnes exercitantur in purgatione, sicut Sacerdotes Diaconique in illuminatione, et postremo sicut illi Pontifices in perfectione et consummatione. Nam totum officium viri est in purgatorum illuminatione, fide, et perfectione eorundem caritate. Purgatio tendit in simplicitatem et constantiam spei. In Psalmo
quarto est, "Constituisti me singulariter in spe." v. 10.
Illuminatio effectum suum habet fidem, ut "in lu- Ps. xxxv. 10.
mine Dei videamus lumen," et in ænigmate veritatem, et in imagine vultum. Quod lumen fidei, ut in illo
eodem Psalmo testatur David, "signatum est super iv. 7.
nos," et est imago vultûs Dei et veritatis. Perfectionis autem finis est sacrificium justitiæ ex caritate. Hæc molitur superior pars ecclesiæ, et una cum eâdem obedit et patitur inferior pars matrimonii et sacerdos feminea, ut pariat et sacrificet filios justitiæ Deo. De ordine loquitur Dionysius, de matrimonio tacet; vel intelligens sacerdotium matrimonium esse, vel in suâ taciturnitate nos docens non aliud in ecclesiâ Christi matrimonium esse oportere, quam sacerdotium; carnale matrimonium, quod erat spiritalis sacramentum, modo coruscante veritate discussum esse et abiisse. Antecessit illud olim in primordio humani generis, et in paradiso cœpit Divinæ conjunctionis et humanæ symbolum;[1] Christi, æterni sponsi, et ecclesiæ conjugii signum et sacramentum. Quæ quidem ecclesia virago in somno illo in vivificâ carne

[1] "Cum alia sacramenta post peccatum, et propter peccatum exordium sumpserint, matrimonii sacramentum etiam ante peccatum legitur institutum a Domino: non tamen ad remedium, sed ad officium."—Petr. Lomb. *Sentent.* iv. 26.

ex illius costâ et latere formata erat mulier Dei, unde sanguis redemptionis sponsæ et aqua ablutionis
Eph. v. 26, 27. ejus in omni sanctificatione effluxit, "ut illam sanctificaret, mundans eam lavacro aquæ in Verbo Vitæ in seipso, ut exhiberet ipse sibi gloriosam ecclesiam, non habentem maculam neque rugam nec aliquid ejusmodi, sed sanctam et immaculatam;" ut tota sancta adhæreat sancto illi Deo quem vivificavit Dominus, ut in illo cum illo mirabiliter evadat unus
Eph. v. 32. spiritus. Testatur in Epistolâ ad Ephesios Paulus, viraginem illam sumptam de latere viri,—carnem ex carne et os ex ossibus illius, propter quam "relinquet homo patrem et matrem, et adhærebit uxori suæ,"—"magnum esse sacramentum in Christo et ecclesiâ;" in quâ nemo conjugatur conjunctione significante, sed significatâ; non carnali sed spiritali; non sacramento sed veritate; omnes ad imitationem Christi in omnibus; ut quisque diligat uxorem sicut Christus ecclesiam, in uxoris sanctificationem in veritate. Matrimonium et sacerdotium idem est; et in superiore parte ecclesiæ ac masculinâ ejus officium est purgare, illuminare, et perficere; ut tota ecclesia pariat et sacrificet prolem justitiæ Deo. At hæc de Ordine et Matrimonio sufficiant.

VIII.

Uti modo diffuso sermone ostendimus, superior ecclesiæ pars in Christo, masculinior et activior, sacerdos est et sponsus, pater et genitor justitiæ in inferiore parte ecclesiæ, quæ est femininior et magis passiva, et quasi sponsa ac mater, in quâ justitia formari de-

beat. Justitia autem est fides Deo per Christum, et caritas Dei et proximi. Hæc ex Deo ipso est hominibus electis; illis quos Deus irradiat, ut fide respiciant illum et reament, et ex fide hominibus bene agant. Radius Dei et lucet et calet suavissimè. Hic in Deo vera bonitas est, et bona veritas; in hominis anima idem radius est fidelis amor Deo et amans fides. Sed ut nihil possit lucere et calere nisi prius sit,—est autem quodque simplicitate et veritate, nam divisio et multiplicitas mors est—ut aliquid ergo illuminetur fide, et concaleat amore Dei et proximi, oportet illud recreetur prius, quasi ex nihilo, et a multiplicitate pulvereque ad simplicitatem, a divisione morteque ad veritatem et vitam contrahatur, ut sit in tali esse et puncto ut Divino radio attingi possit, illuminarique et perfici in summo sole Deo, qui est in Jesu Christo. Est enim in homine quod suum est proprium, individuum et simplex; quod malâ et multiplici ratione obductum et involutum vacillat secum, et titubat; quâ externâ conditione oportet spolietur homo omnino, et expurgetur illud intimum individuum, ut in se redeat, et extet nudum, purum et simplex; ac nunc, subtractis omnibus impedimentis, et abrepto omni onere quod deorsum detrusit, solutum et liberum in se intimè et summè constet; abductum jam ab omni divisâ et multiplici conditione, et expositum Deo altè in ratione simplici et individuâ, et in se penitus nuditer et apertè; ut, tale apparens in Deo, in Deo summo sole statim attactus[1] Divino radio illuminetur et calefiat. Hoc individuum in homine Paulus vocat "hominem interiorem:" Salvator in Eph. iii. 16.

[1] *Attactus.*] Sc. *homo.*

Matth. vi. 22. evangelio "hominis oculum;" qui "si simplex fuerit, totum corpus lucidum erit." Simplicitas hujus individui hominis, et animæ unitas, et esse in Deo per Christum, est spes, quæ est illa nuda et simplex expositio et apparitio humanæ animæ Deo, omni quasi appendice abstracto, ut levis et libera nunc anima secum constet in se intimè, et in Deo, stabiliter conjuncta uni et unifico Deo, et ab illo solo dependens et ab eodem cert[e] expectans omnia. Quæ sperans expectatio est animæ suum esse spiritale, potentia, firmitas, et constantia, purgationis finis, Christiani hominis initium, quâ imprimis quisque Christianus et tota ecclesia quasi fixa et stabilita est in puncto, essentiâ spiritali, ut deinde altius in lumen et perfectionem sui promoveatur. De ecclesiâ inquit
v. 10. David in Psalmo quarto, "Tu, Domine, singulariter in spe constituisti me."[1] Quum quis implicatur rationibus Deo contrariis, stultitiâ et nequitiâ hujus mundi, non est sui compos, et ita dividitur et distra-

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[1] Colet has twice before (p. 70, and p. 77) referred to this passage; and it is observable what force he attaches to the word *singulariter* in the Latin version. Wycliffe's rendering exhibits the form of the text in that version most closely:—"In pes into itself I shal slepe and reste. For thou, Lord, singulerli in hope hast togidere set me." (*Forshall and Madden's edition*, 1850).

The interpretation above given of *singulariter*, namely "in simplicity," or "singleness of heart," is perhaps due to Augustine's Commentary on the text. His words are:—"Et bene ait *singulariter:* potest enim referri adversus illos multos qui, multiplicati a tempore frumenti, vini et olei sui, dicunt *Quis ostendit nobis bona?* perit enim hæc multiplicitas, et singularitas tenetur in sanctis, de quibus dicitur in Actibus Apostolorum, *Multitudinis autem credentium erat anima una et cor unum* (iv. 32). Singulares ergo et simplices, id est, secreti a multitudine ac turba nascentium rerum ac morientium, amatores æternitatis et unitatis esse debemus, si uni Deo et Domino nostro cupimus inhærere."—*Enarratio in Psalmum* iv.

hitur, ut in solo Deo uno et individuo sperare non possit. Primus ergo labor et negotium est sacerdotii in ecclesiâ, ut expurget et purificet homines in simplicitatem et spem Deo; ut desperare desinant et sperare incipiant; ut, remotis dispositionibus contrariis, quum jam in summâ spe sint in Deo, hoc ipso sint regeniti, ut inde simul promoti perficiantur. Quod docet divus Petrus in Epistolâ ad dispersos Judæos, sic exorsus: "Benedictus Deus et Pater 1 Pet. i. 3.
Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui secundum misericordiam suam regeneravit nos in spem vivam, per resurrectionem [Jesu Christi ex mor]tuis;" in quo homines simul resurgunt per potentiam Patris a vita moribundâ, interminatâ desperatione, in spem vivam, ut in Patre genitore quisque jam sperans sit, vivens, et habeat esse unitatis et simplicitatis in Patre, cui unitas et potentia attribuitur, per quem potenter est in spe, et stabilit[ur] purgatoriâ vi ministrorum Dei. Ad Collocenses inquit Paulus: "Immobiles a spe Col. i. 23.
evangelii quod accepistis." Est in hâc spe immobilitas et paterna constantia, quæ est propriè in esse et unitate, quæ unitas Patris est et potentis genitoris, in quo potenter vivunt homines, qui ministri sunt Dei, quorum opus est, ut scribit Paulus ad Hebræos, "Introductio melioris spei, per quam proximamus ad Hebr. vii. 19.
Deum." Nam soluti in mundo longè absunt a Deo. Et qui in multis mundi rebus sunt distracti diversâ spe et expectatione earum, ii reverâ non sunt, et desperantes Deum nihil sunt. Ut recolligantur et reuniantur spe uni Deo, per quam ad Deum proximent, despectis et abjectis omnibus in quibus speraverunt terrenis, multiplicibus et divisis distrahentibusque homines,—ut sit (inquam) recollectio et intro-

ductio in spem meliorem, per quam proximent Deo, est labor et officium paternæ administrationis et spiritalis regenerationis in Deo. Et in hoc paterni sacerdotii in ecclesiâ est prima actio, ut desperationis pulverem discutiat, et depellat adversantia et impedientia omnia divinam reformationem, nudetque quasi statuam humanam novo colore depingendam, procreet hominem in suam ipsius simplicem unitatem, educat ab aquis hujus mundi in spiritum Dei, ab imo terræ in altum cœli; ut in monte spei extet vicinus Deo; ut ab illo illustretur et exornetur, exuat vetustatem male olentem ex fæce hujus mundi, et induat [sinceram novitatem]; abradat a vase amarum saporem veteris imbutionis, ut sit novum vas suavissimi vini Dei; spoliet et detrahat fœdam et squalidam vestem, quam ipse sibi homo rudi arte ex terrâ hujus mundi contexuit, et induat eam novam et cœlestem, ex materiâ gratiæ lucis,[1] Spiritûs Sancti digitis contextam; sit anima penitus simplex, una, individua, in unam partem duntaxat et unice intenta in unum Deum merâ et indivisibili spe, puncto hoc spei constans in Deo, et hâc radice alte infixus in terrâ viventium; ut radicatus spe pulchrè crescat fide, et charitate fructificet utiliter et spisse bona opera in vitam æternam. Primus ergo effectus sacerdotii in humiliori ecclesiæ parte est spes Deo, qui finis est purgationis; quæ eadem spes etiam humilitas, subjectio, et obedientia est Deo; ut ab illo in divinam formam exaltetur. Hæc sunt quæ vel spes ipsa est, vel spem indivisibiliter comitantur, et simul in eâ emergente animâ ex hoc mundano mari se ostentant; videlicet puritas, nuditas, simplicitas, unitas, potentia, constantia, sta-

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[1] *Gratiæ lucis.*] Probably one of these words should be omitted.

bilitas, firmitas, radicatio, humilitas, subjectio, obedientia, essentia, generatio, filiatio, vita, initium, fundamentum, et ejusmodi omnia, quæ principii rationem habent, et inchoationis soliditatem. Est enim certe homo sperans Deo purus, nudus, simplex, in se unus, radicatus humiliter, subjectus obedienter, generatus in esse firmo, potenti, constanti, stabili, filius Dei vivus jam inchoatus et fundatus altâ et solidâ spe, ut in reliquum ædificium perficiatur.

Ut homo reducatur in hanc et obedientem spem, elaborant ministri assiduè, docentes ex sacris literis quàm sperandum est in Deo, quàm simul quæ mundi sunt desperanda et abjicienda. Hi ostiarii, lectores, exorcistæ, et id genus hominum qui in inferiori ecclesiâ in purgandis hominibus spiritaliter se exercent: catechumeni vero vocantur qui sic instruuntur, et illa operatio catechizatio vocatur. In Epistola ad Galathas præcipit Paulus: "Communicet is qui catechizatur verbo ei qui se catechizat, in omnibus bonis." Gal. vi. 6. Oportet doceatur ut abrenunciet quæ sunt hujus [mundi] omnia, ut in spem soli Deo deinceps se recipiat. Hoc significat depositio vestium et hominis nudatio in novum indumentum,[1] ut pœniteat maleactæ

[1] *Indumentum.*] To the same effect Colet writes under the head of *Spiritalis Speculatio Baptismi* (School MS. fol. 34* b.):—"Christianitas est professio simplicitatis, in quam trahitur homo, ut a multitudine in simplicitatem. Non patitur Christus simplex duplicem tunicam. In ejus veste nuptiali si vis esse, faciendum est ut nudus accedas, ut eam induas, pristinamque vivendi formam deponas, ut subeas eam quæ Christi est. Id velit [vult] et significat quod exuit vestes omnes is qui se confert in Christum; quod exspuit et exsufflat ad occidentem, et magna protestatione abrenunciat quicquid est iniquitatis; quod se in orientem nudum jam penitus objicit radiis exorti solis justitiæ; id, inquam, significat, ut purgatus et simplex simplicem et purum divinum radium capiat, et vestem lucis et justitiæ induat, quam in Christo contexit gratia sancti Spiritus."

vitæ, ut confiteatur se peccasse, ut habeat voluntatem redimendi tempus, et recompensandi illa mala cum bonis in Deo, ac satisfaciendi modo deinceps contrario; ut bonitatis lanx, quæ erat ante depressa, justâ satisfactione peccatorum lancem adæquet; immo potius superet justitiæ causa, ut erat ante superata. Quum enim confessorum peccatorum te pœniteat tui, salus esse non potest quidem, nisi redimas tempus, recompenses, et satisfacias, exsurgas ut superes, sicut eras superatus, pugnes, prosternas, vincas, malum cum bono superes; ut justâ recompensatione sit pro malis tuis satisfactio in bonitate, vel re vel voluntate, ut energens in te ea justitiâ a justo Deo apprehendare. Quid ergo cuique peccato contrarium, et sua cuique vitio quæ propria virtus, diligenter docendi sunt catechumeni; ut discant in meliori vitâ pro malis bona recompensare, et pro peccatis in justitiæ operibus satisfacere, ut simul cum justitiâ sit misericordia Dei; ut erat in peccatis libido et voluptas, ita pro eisdem dolor et tristitia sit, et quidam animo angor et corporis cruciatus, qui ut ignis expurget labes peccatorum, et eradicet funditus, ut iterum non pullulent. Quum in manibus ministrorum est aliquis ut purgetur, utque colluviem peccatorum lacrymis lavet et abstergat, vel catechumenus, vel pœnitens, vel energumenus,[1] vel apostata, tametsi is rursus sit in ecclesiâ tamen non numeratur, nec est ex hierarchiâ et corpore Christi; in quo nemo esse

[1] *Energumenus.*] Cf. Dionys. *Eccl. Hier.* c. iii. § 6. "Post hæc, extra delubrum catechumini fiunt, et cum ipsis energumini, et ii quoque qui in penitentia sunt. Manent autem intus soli qui divina spectare merentur atque percipere." See also Sir Peter King's *Enquiry into the . . . . . Primitive Church* (1713), p. 106.

potest, nisi purgatus et perfectus. Unde constat omnes malos Christianos non esse in ecclesiâ, sed extra, ut purgentur: et interea, dum peccatorum contagione infecti sunt, eis non licere nec mysteria audire, nec sacramenta aspicere, quoniam profanos et fœdos habent oculos. Quæ sunt ad vitæ eruditionem, audire possunt; uti sunt ex sacris literis cantus et lectiones.[1] At quum sacramenta aguntur, longè propellantur; fœdi enim et turpes illuminari non possunt, ut videant sacra, quæ nemo recte discernit nisi illuminatus fide, ut "in lumine Dei lumen videat:" fidei autem acies in peccatorum flumine exstinguitur. Fide spectantur sacramenta, et eorum mysteria intelliguntur. Ut autem credamus, sine peccato [esse] oportet. Infuscatur enim et obtenebratur fides in peccatorum caligine et fumo. Ait ille, "Adhuc in 1 Cor. xv. 17.
peccatis vestris estis." Donec ergo deponatur tetra illa et detestabilis vestis scelerum et dolorum, ac tristitiæ facibus comburatur, et pro eâ vicissim nudus ille modo induat nitidam et amabilem vestem nuptialem, in mensâ cœlestium dapum et sacramentorum Dei non discumbat. De hâc re distinctè, tanquam de sacramento, non locutus est Dionysius;[2] quoniam est potius via et paratio ad sacrament[um quàm] sa-

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[1] *Lectiones.*] See Bingham, *Origines* (1711), iii. p. 160. "The Church, ever since she first divided her Catechumens and Penitents into distinct orders and classes, had also distinct places in the church for them. And this lower part of the church was the place of the Energumens, and such of the Catechumens and Penitents as were commonly called *Audientes*, that is, Hearers, because they were allowed to stand here to hear the Psalms and Scriptures read, and the Sermon made by the Preacher; after which they were dismissed without any Prayers or Solemn Benediction."

[2] *Dionysius.*] In the *Eccl. Hierar.* c. ii. where Dionysius is describing the ceremonies at Baptism, mention is made of the stripping

cramentum; ut exuere antecedit induere, et reconciliatio amicitiam, et procuratio adoptionem, et curatio sanitatem, et lotio ac tersio nitorem. Justa illa misericordia et misericors justitia non miseretur quidem nisi in justitiâ. Confessionem quum videt peccatorum, pœnitentiam, et satisfactionem, tum miseretur justè et misericorditer justificat. Et hoc quoque, quotienscunque hanc justitiæ voluntatem in nobis deprehendit, confessionis, pœnitentiæ et satisfactionis,[1] fidefragi sumus, et amicitiâ professâ deficimus, et a gradu stationis nostræ miseri delabimur. Sed illa supra quàm excogitari potest indulgens pietas Dei (quæ non vult mortem peccatoris, sed ut convertatur et vivat), quotienscunque ex casu resurgimus, pudore et dolore affecti quòd turpiter decidimus, et correptis armis iterum bonâ spe in spiritalem hostem animositer irruimus, dux nostræ militiæ divina illa pietas nostram industriam et voluntatem debellandi non recusat; quinimmo amplectitur, fovet, laudat, coro-

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off his own apparel from a person about to be baptized:—"Quam (precem) cum omnis secum ecclesia terminaverit, discingit quidem ipsum, ac ministrorum manibus exuit." Pachymeres, in his Paraphrase, expands this into something resembling the text:—"Deinde dicit de vestium depositione. Cum enim non liceat alicui summe contrariorum participem existere, sanitatis, v. g. et morbi, et peccati et virtutis, et ignorantiæ cognitionisque Dei, divisam etiam necesse sit habere vitam qui utraque amplectitur; proptereaque liberum esse oporteat qui ad alteram vitam transfertur, nullum affectum retinendo prioris vitæ: idcirco, qui adducitur, nudus sistitur."—*Venice Edition* (1755), i. 183.

[1] *Satisfactionis.*] The sense here is somewhat obscure; unless we suppose something to have been missed out after *satisfactionis*. Possibly *quanquam* may have been written instead of, or in addition to, *quoque* above (the contractions of the two words being similar); in which case the sense would be:—"And this too (God does), although, as often as he marks in us this desire of righteousness, confession, penitence and compensation, we (again) break our pledge, &c."

nat. In hâc militiâ Christianâ necesse est, pro naturâ belli, vicissitudinaria sit victoria; ut cadere non sit damnabile, sed prostratum velle jacere. Statim si resurgas, quanquam non es comparandus cum illis qui nunquam ceciderint, tamen quum nolis victus jacere, miles non es inutilis. Non tam succenset tibi Deus quòd cecidisti, quàm gratam habet resurrectionem tuam. "Peccare humanum est," ait Chrysostomus,[1] "jacere diabolicum." Rogante Petro, 'O Salvator, septiesne duntaxat peccanti ignosceret,' respondit misericordia ipsa, 'Immo septuagesies septies.' Et proposuit parabolam, in quâ docuit non ignotum ei fore qui non ignoscit. Quoties ergo fidefragi sumus, quotiens "ut canis reversus ad vomitum, ut sus lota in volutabro luti," tametsi posteriora sunt pejora prioribus, tamen Deus qui cognoscit figmentum nostrum, qui cognoscit quàm homo pronus est ad malum ab adolescentiâ, quotiens diluere sordes et mundare nos volumus, et ad fidem redire, non repudiat, sed de centesimâ ove inventâ gaudet plus quàm de nonaginta novem qui non erraverunt; et ecclesia, mulier, uxor Dei, cum vicinis gaudet magis de dragmâ inventâ quàm de omnibus quæ possidet; et pater ille de reverso filio, qui perdite dissipavit substantiam suam, tamen dicenti, "Peccavi in cœlum, coram te; jam non sum dignus vocari filius tuus," tantopere exultavit, omnibus lætitiæ signis exhibitis (stolâ, annulo, calceamentis, vitulo; ut magis non potuit), dicens, "Hic filius meus mortuus erat, et revixit; perierat, et inventus est." Est Salvatoris audienda

Matth. xviii. 21, 22.

2 Pet. ii. 22.

Luke xv. 21.

[1] *Parænesis I. ad Theodorum Lapsum,* § 15. "Nam peccare quidem, humanum est; at in peccatis perseverare, id non humanum est, sed omnino satanicum."

Luke xv. 10. et colenda sententia, quod "gaudium erit coram angelis Dei super uno peccatore pœnitentiam agente," et se purgante, ut videat sacramenta Dei, ut alienatus reconcilietur Deo. Cujus reconciliationis, quæ fit confessione delicti, pœnitentiâ et recompensatione, ecclesia sacramentum instituit; ut, quemadmodum ad veterem abolendam maculam statutum est sacramentum, ita novâ immaculatione suum sacramentum habeat. Radio Dei fiunt omnia, qui in sacramentis evadit sensibilis,[1] in corporum etiam purgationem. Purgatio, illuminatio et perfectio omnis est sacramenti effectus; et radius ille Dei benignus nihil aliud agit nisi avocationem hinc, et illuc in cœlum revocationem, illuminationem nostrî cum tenebrarum depulsione. In quo est hoc valde notandum, nullius sacramenti esse ex proposito et intento depellere tenebras et sordes diluere; sed lumen infundere per se, quod necessario fugâ tenebrarum comitatur. Hinc Baptismus, quod sacramentum est advenientis Spiritûs in hominem purgatum, et regignentis Deo, a Dionysio vocatur sacramentum illuminationis;[2] quia adest

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[1] *Sensibilis.*] Cf. *Cœlest. Hier.* c. i. "Neque enim aliter fas est infirmitati nostræ lucere divinum illum radium, nisi sacrorum varietate velaminum, quibus ad superiora ferremur, opertum."

[2] *Illuminationis.*] *Eccl. Hier.* c. iii. "Sic igitur et sacrum divinæ generationis sacramentum, quia primi luminis consortium tradit, omniumque divinarum illustrationum principium est, ex effectu ipso, verissimo illud Illuminationis cognomine prædicamus."

In the abstract of the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, which is in the School MS., Colet says much on the *illuminatio* of which Baptism is the sign. Thus, under the head of *Spiritalis Speculatio Baptismi*, he writes:—"Deus bonus et benignus est, justitiæ sol, spiritales naturas irradians, similiter et æquabiliter se fundens in omnes sine intermissione, et astans ad fores et fenestras animi, pulsans ut recipiatur." (fol. 34, a). And further on, speaking of the address to the

jam Spiritus lucidus, qui dicit, "Hic est filius meus dilectus, in quo mihi bene complacui." (Matth. iii. 17.) In qua illustratione obscuritas omnis et macula discutitur. Aqua illa intinctionem gratiæ significat, et obruitionem quæ nos absorbet in spiritum, et facit ut, secundum carnem, in fide mortis Christi moriamur, vivamus autem et sentiamus Spiritu, jam toti spiritales, regeniti Spiritu sancto Dei: ideo baptisma illuminationis et regenerationis vocatur. Infantes baptizati nubeculam originalis injustitiæ adventu luminis habent propulsam, modo quæ secutura est vita sacramento responderit. Adulti autem, ut illuminentur, quæ ispi scientes commiserint peccata, et agnoscunt, et confitentur, et dolent et satisfaciunt. Item qui recasu in tenebras lumen exstinxerunt, hìc non solum fides, sed voluntaria confessio, mœror, et recompensatio est necessaria; hìc oportet sit spontanea relictio peccatorum. Volunt autem, quos Deus vult, in cujus bonâ voluntate volunt. Ille "operatur in nobis et velle et perficere." (Philipp. ii. 13.) Quos Deus vult agnoscere et abrenuntiare peccata, ii abrenuntiant in Deo. Et quos Deus solvit, relaxat, et dimittit, ii se solvunt et relaxant in Deo; et, confitentes ac odientes peccatorum vincula, erumpunt et exeunt in Deo. Hujus divinæ solutionis, liberationis, et remissionis sacerdotum ministerio oportet sit sacramentum, et signum aliquod venerabile misericordis voluntatis Dei, qui immittit in hominem voluntatem solvendi, et agnoscendi et abjiciendi peccata. Veruntamen quanquam in Deo vult esse

baptized, he has these striking words:—"Pontifex, quem illuminavit Christus, solis instar, ex pulpito fulget luce veritatis, et diradiat evangelicum verbum pariter universis. Clamat, Surge qui dormis, et exsurge a mortuis, et illuminabit te Christus." (34, b).

liber, tamen res non conficitur nisi medio sacramento ministrato a ministris Dei, quod testis efficax simul et divinæ et humanæ voluntatis remittendi. Hinc sacramentorum sacramenta ratio ipsa sacramentificans Deushomo ille noster Jesus Christus, qui jacuit[1] sacramenta inter Deum et homines, testes et fœdera coeuntium voluntatum, qui remisit ipse et relaxavit peccatorum vincula, etiam remissionis peccatorum et reconciliationis hominum sibi, quos vult Deus reconciliari, instituit sacramentum; voluitque divinam voluntatem in homine et humanam voluntatem in Deo opportunâ ratione consignari. Itaque post resurrectionem suam, ut testatur Joannes, mittens discipulos suos legatos, "Insufflavit et dixit eis: Accipite Spiritum sanctum," cujus sacramentum erat flatus ille; et addidit, "Quorum remiseritis peccata, remittentur eis, et quorum retinueritis, retenta sunt." Retinentur vero quæ non remittuntur; non remittuntur, quæ non remittit homo ille qui est in vinculis peccatorum, agnoscens et confitens peccata sua. Quæ vero ille agnoscit et confitetur, audiens sacerdos, medius inter Deum et hominem, qui intelligit ex voluntate Dei hominis illius voluntatem se solvere, quot soluta et confessa peccata audit, illam solutionem contestatur, et hominis voluntatem in Deo et Dei voluntatem in homine, et remissionem peccatorum sacerdotali officio tum signis tum verbis comprobat. Quæ autem non remittit ille peccator, nec confitetur, illa sacerdos non remittit. Hoc certissimum est: omnis remissio primùm est a Deo, cujus solius est peccata remittere: qui monet hominem ut se solvat

John xx. 22.

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[1] *Jacuit.*] Leg. *jecit.*

a peccatis; qui vult ut, intercedente sacerdote, humiliatione, confessione, impositione manuum, invocatione sanctæ Trinitatis, sacris Christi verbis recitatis (videlicet, "Remittuntur tibi peccata tua,") mysterium divinæ voluntatis testificetur, ut inter Deum et homines qui respondent divinæ voluntati, sacramenti testimonium exstet. Hoc sacramentum reconciliationis et remissionis non inepte vocari potest; quâ homo benignâ Dei gratiâ reconciliatur Deo; quod recentior ecclesia vocat pœnitentiæ sacramentum. In quo vides ex istis verbis quidnam rationis habet, quòd inter Deum et hominem se solventem in Deo a peccatis intermedius est sacerdos, et audiens, et remissionem auditorum a Deo contestans; et quid sit illud "Quorum remiseritis peccata, remittuntur; quorum retinueritis, retinentur." Quæ non solvit ipse homo, retenta sunt; et sacerdos contestatur retenta esse, quia ea remissa esse non contestatur. Vult in terris Deus testificationem eorum quæ in cœlis fiunt ab ipso erga homines; quod sacerdotali munere exhibetur.

DEUS, remittens vincula peccatorum.
SACERDOS, medius sacramento confirmans.
HOMINES, se solventes in Deo.

Quæcunque alligaverint et solverint saltem ministri fideles in Deo, qui intelligunt quid Deus agit in hominibus, ea ligantur et solvuntur in cœlis. Qui (ut docet Corinthios Paulus) apostoli, sacerdotes, et spiritalior ecclesiæ pars, "ministri" duntaxat sunt "Christi, et dispensatores ministeriorum Dei;" in quibus requiritur fidelitas maxima, alioquin quod agunt non confit in cœlis. Audire confessionem debet sacerdos, et sentire pœnitudinem, quæ est tam necessaria, ut ab eâ reconciliationis sacramentum 1 Cor. iv. 1.

cognomen habeat. In evangelio Lucæ jubet Salvator, remittatur peccatori quotienscunque modo pœnitet. Luke xviii. 3, 4. Verba illius hæc sunt: "Si peccaverit in te frater tuus, increpa illum; et si pœnitentiam egerit, dimitte illi. Et si septies in die peccaverit in te, et septies in die conversus fuerit ad te, dicens 'Pœnitet me,' Isai. xliii. 26. dimitte illi." De confessione spiritûs Isaie ait: "Dic tu iniquitates tuas ut justificeris." Recompensatio in contrario semper debet esse; ut pro malo satisfactio fiat in bono, et ut contrarium contrarium vincat. Avaritia redimenda est liberalitate et eleemosynâ; luxuria et crapula continentiâ et jejunio; negligentia Dei oratione assiduâ, ut injustitiâ tuâ Deus misereatur tui. Item pro voluptate in omnibus, in corpore dolor ferendus est; ut dolor et cruciatus carnis delectationem eradicet; quem dolorem vocat Paulus "compassionem." Rom. viii. 17, 18. "Si tamen compatimur," inquit, "ut glorificemur." "Non sunt condignæ compassiones ad futuram gloriam." Omnia hæc ad sacramentum reconciliationis pertinent, ut redeamus in gratiam et in ecclesiam introeamus, simusque in eâ aliquod membrum factum Christi in sanctificato corpore suo et jam illuminato baptismate; quod lumen sacramento remissionis recuperamus, quod est lumen fidei, ut conspectis sacris Dei eis credamus, et vivamus pro ratione sacrorum.

IX.

Baptismus autem (ut tradit Dionysius), datus a sacerdotibus, et illuminat purgatos et fidem dat; hoc est fidem a Deo infusam consignat.

Confirmatio vero testatur Spiritûs sancti firmam

dationem. Hoc sacramentum potest vocari donorum Spiritûs sancti. Nam est sacramentum donationis Spiritûs, inde tractum et institutum, quod Samariæ baptizatis erat postea ab apostolis missus qui eis impositis manibus daret Spiritum sanctum; alioquin in ecclesiâ non censerentur. Acts viii. 17.

Sacramentum communionis in communi pabulo carnis et sanguinis, quod sacramentum conjuncti et unitatis est, confirmatorum et spiritificatorum est in Christo in summâ unitate coaltio et connutritio. Vocamur enim ut purgemur, illuminemur, et perficiamur spiritu, connutriamur, convivamus, compugnemus, convincamus, conglorificemur. Hæc vis charitatis spiritalium hominum.

Postremo extrema unctio (quæ quondam fiebat etiam cadaveribus,[1] nunc autem in extremâ vitâ, quatenus conjecturâ suspicari possumus), sacramentum est perfecti laboris ac militiæ et purgationis afflicti corporis, et affert in ægritudine præsentiam et consolationem Spiritûs sancti. De quâ Jacobus locutus est hisce verbis: "Tristatur aliquis vestrum? James v. 13, 14.

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1 *Cadaveribus.*] *Eccl. Hier.* c. vii. § 3. "Exacta salutatione, defuncto infundit oleum pontifex. Memento autem ut in prima sancta regeneratione ante sacrum baptisma, prima sancti symboli participatio traditur initiando, post priorem omnem abjectam vestem, sancti chrismatis oleum: nunc, in fine omnium, defuncto itidem infunditur oleum. Atqui tunc quidem olei unctio baptisandum evocabat ad sacra certamina; nunc autem infusum oleum signat eum qui defunctus est eadem sacra exegisse certamina, sicque fuisse consummatum."

Bingham, *Origines Eccl.* (1722), vol. x. p. 70, after mentioning that "The Psalmody and Prayers are largely described by the Author under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite," adds that "The two last ceremonies of giving the kiss of peace, and anointing with oyl, are in a manner peculiar to this Author, and the former of them expressly forbidden in some other Rules of Burial."

oret. Æquo animo est? psallat. Infirmatur quis in vobis? inducat presbyteros ecclesiæ, et orent super eum, ungentes eum oleo in nomine Domini."[1] Crebra est unctio in ecclesiâ, quæ est crebra admonitio frequentis Spiritûs sancti; cujus adventum, operationem, effectum, sacramenta denotant credentibus, in eorum salutem sempiternam.

Vir.	Ordo		Hic ordo est rectus Sacramentorum ecclesiæ	Traditus a Joanne Colet decano Sancti Pauli London.
	Matrimonium.			
Uxor.	Pœnitentia	Purgatio.		
	Baptismus	Illuminatio.		
	Confirmatio	Perfectio.		
	Eucharistia	Coaltio.		
	Extrema Unctio.	Consummatio.		

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[1] *Domini.*] Dean Colet's school, from which came Milton, maintaining, in his *Tetrachordon*, doctrines concerning marriage as different as can be imagined from those of its Founder, sent forth also Whitaker, who thus replies to the defence of Extreme Unction, as based on the precept of St. James: "Oleo utantur, qui possunt ægrotis sanitatem precibus impetrare: qui non possunt, abstineat inani symbolo." (Quoted by Bengel, on St. James v. 14).

It is with a comment on this rite that Jewell ends his *Treatise of the Sacraments;* and his closing words are not so unlike those of Colet, but that they may serve for a conclusion here. "Thus doth the Church of God instruct all men to live, and to die, and to bee in readinesse. Thus are the sicke among us anointed with the inner and invisible oile of the mercy of God. Thus are they put in mind to have the oile of faith and of a good conscience, and that their lamps may ever be burning; that so they may enter in with the bridegrome; that the day-spring from on high may visit their hearts; and that it may be said unto them, 'Come, yee blessed of my Father, inherit ye the kingdome prepared for you from the foundations of the world.'"

APPENDIX.

Page 3, *Note* 2.

SINCE the above note was written, I have received an obliging communication from the Rev. W. M. Snell, M.A., Librarian of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, respecting the treatises by Colet, in Meghen's handwriting, which are there preserved. The volume containing them is numbered CCCLV of the Parker Collection, and has the following marginal note on the first page:—"Hic liber scriptus manu Amanuensis Johĩs Colett, ut videre licet in libro magno suarum translationum Matthæi et Marci script. manu Petri Meghen, monoculi, teutonis, natione Brabantini, ut ipsemet testatur in fine Marci Evangelistæ, Anno 1509, 8. Maii." The writing, Mr. Snell informs me, is a very formal print-hand, and not at all like that of the School MS.

This being so, it may be thought that my opinion as to the School Manuscript being Meghen's writing is a mere guess. I cannot indeed claim much more value for it; but there are still one or two considerations which to me seem to countenance it. In the Illumination at fol. 6 of the MS. Dd. vii. 3, the inscription on the label over the kneeling figure of Colet is in a small hand, not unlike that of the School MS. This is not much to judge from; but it is the

only specimen, I believe, of the kind in the volume. An extract from Polydore Vergil, on the blank leaf at the end, is evidently by some other pen. The inscription on the label is mentioned by Tho. Smith, in 1661, and I am not aware that there is any reason for thinking it a later addition. In any case, the occurrence of the peculiar blanks, which have been referred to, seems to me irreconcileable with the opinion that the School MS. is in Colet's own hand; not to add that the writing is firmer and more angular, more full of contractions, and apparently more like that of a practised scribe, than any which I have seen in the Cambridge MS. Gg. iv. 26.

FINIS.

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